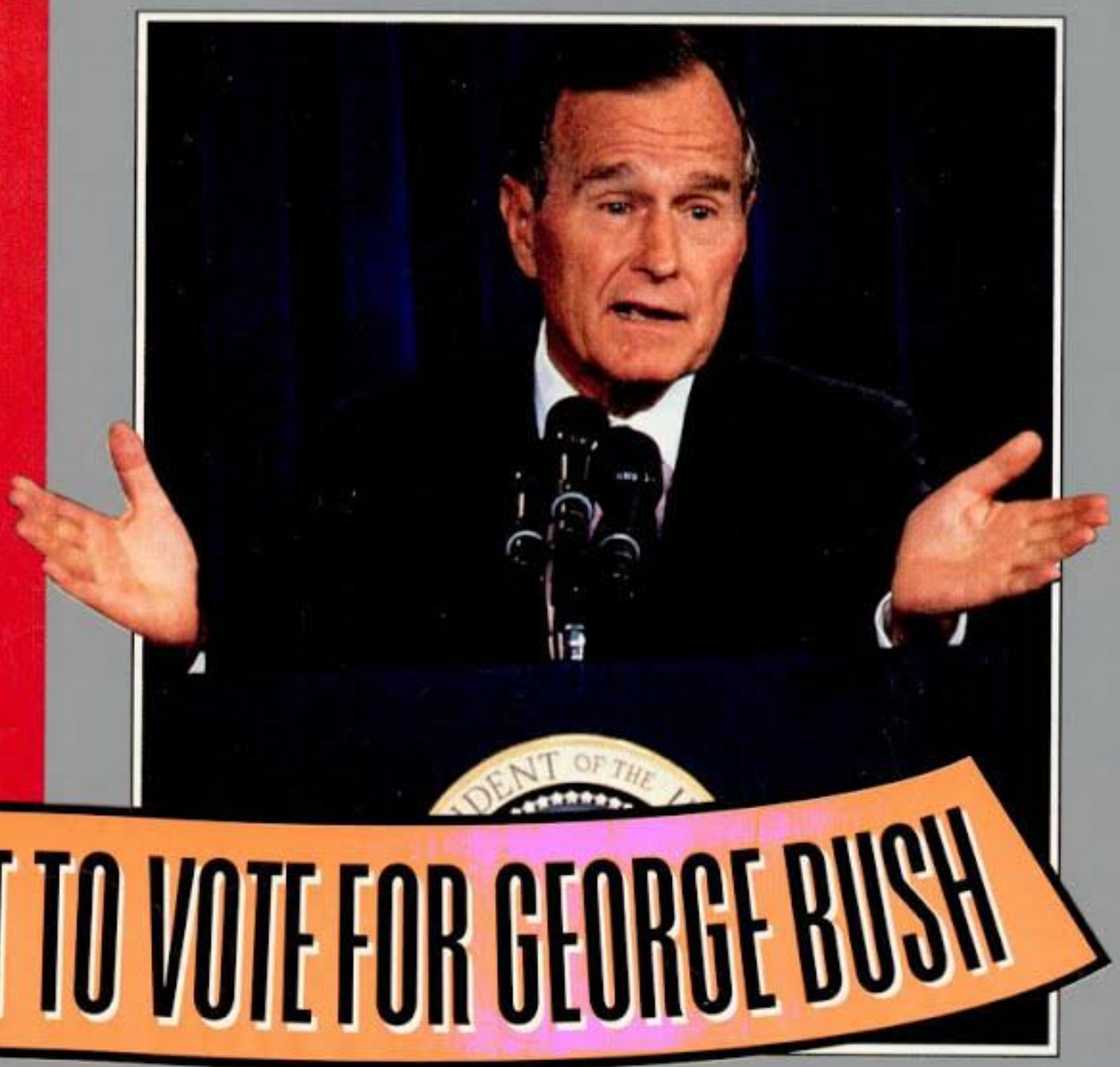
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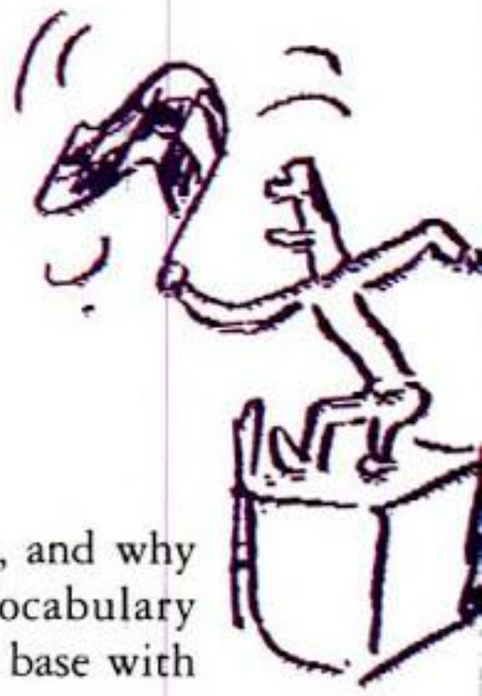
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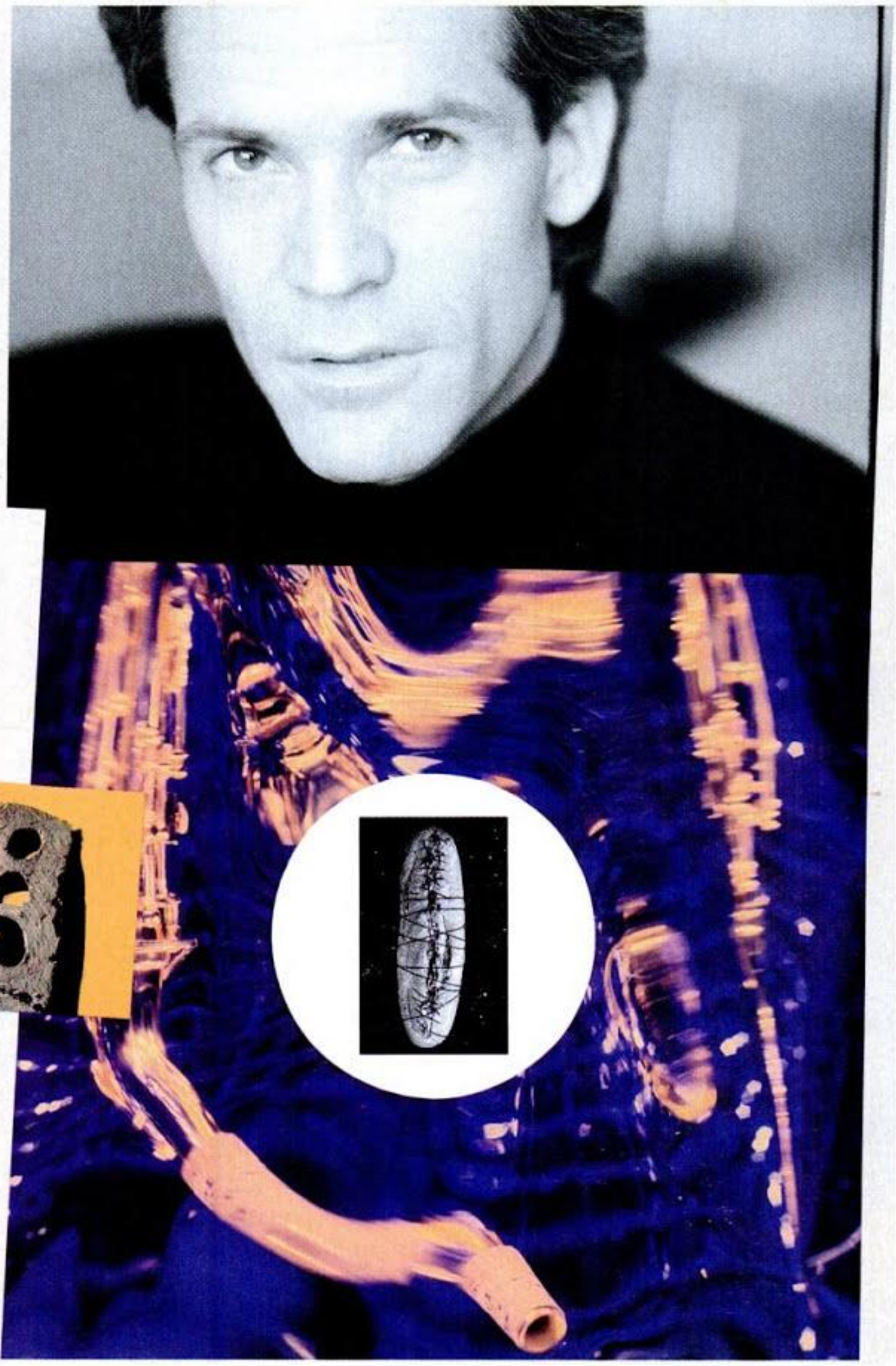
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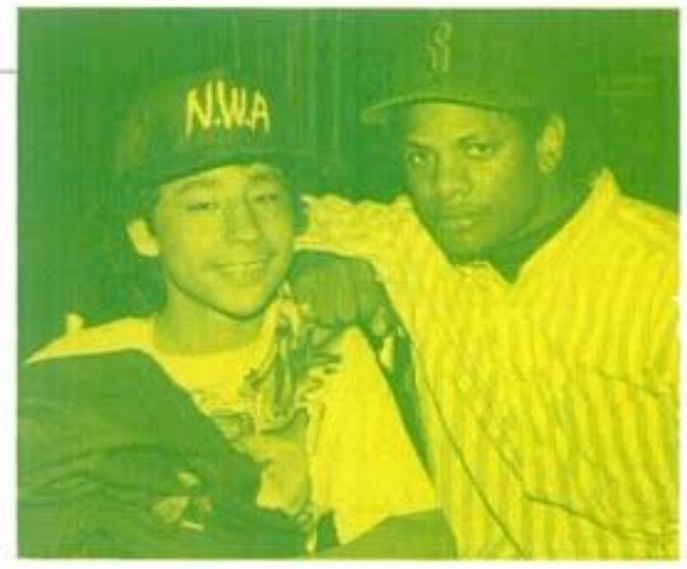
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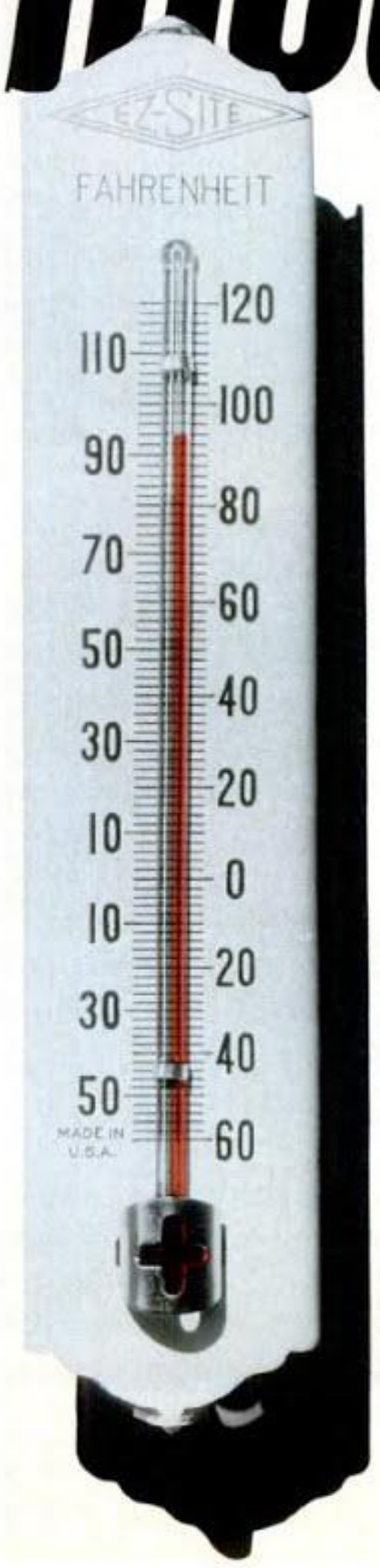
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Great Expectations

Summer *meant* nostalgia



SUMMER *MEANT* NOSTALGIA NOT LONG AGO: AFTER THE FIRST SOLID week of temperatures over 80, the glands controlling sentimentalism were triggered, turning a majority of Americans into Ronald Reagans—wistful, ruddy, happy to ignore unpleasantness and ready to char beef. Summer used to have more natural incitements to a particular sort of elegiac sappiness (baseball! Lightning bugs! Corn-on-the-cob! Hired help sweating in the yard!) than any other time of the year. But in the last few years, the concoction and *marketing* of summer-specific nostalgias have overridden the spontaneous kind. And so now when we feel a bittersweet July yearning for old Four Tops songs and Dairy Queen cones and tackle boxes, we feel inauthentic and ashamed, because it's become hard to tell the difference between an actual sentimental hankering and a TV ad for the Miata. These days, with Americans in a chronic remembrance-of-things-past mode (just last fall we published a cover story on nostalgia, and here we are, nostalgic for it already), summer is simply a differently packaged bit of the continuum, the season when they release violent big-budget movies and sell more Country Time lemonade mix. Even when something unequivocally *now* happens—say, a three-day outbreak of racial warfare—it becomes a pretext for remembering another, golden-oldie summer: What was that relentless black-and-white footage of 1965 L.A. if not nostalgia? Ross Perot is a symptom of our need to look back—if Reagan was the first virtual-reality president (for most people, his simulation of old-fashioned



"These prices just prove people love me; people love Donald Trump."—the notso-quite-officially-bankrupt casino operator on the recent price increases of his junk bonds



leadership was indistinguishable from the genuine article), Perot is the new and improved, second-generation model. The established political parties are *trying* to pander to the good-old-days impulse—"There's a certain familiar order of things," says sleazy young Republican operative Roger Stone about Hillary Clinton's forthrightness, "and the notion of a co-equal couple in the White House is a little offensive"—but it isn't really getting them anywhere. Their conventions are now merely quaint, their balloons and bunting and theatricalized pointlessness something closer to Disney extravaganza than to politics.

Perot knows that the newspapers' desperate attempts to diminish him have been mostly harmless. "I'm not sure how much people read anymore," he says. "What happens on TV is what really impacts on people. I think you could print any story you want on the front page of *The New York Times*," he told a *Times* reporter, "and there's no reaction. It just blows away." In other words, there *used* to be a certain familiar order of things.

Even as Perotmania spreads (members of the heavy-metal band Megadeth are strong supporters), the party big shots in Washington swagger along. In the Senate, Republicans, seeking to preserve a certain familiar order of things, squashed a bill that would have let citizens register to vote when they got driver's licenses. "Low voter turnout," said Senator Mitch McConnell, who led the fight to defeat the bill, "is a sign of a content democracy."

Or a sign that Jerry Brown was the principal Democratic alternative all spring. Just before his limelight was, at last, extinguished, the deeply pathetic Brown came up with one final gimmick—he brought a pair of L.A. gang members, T.T. and Loco, along on a campaign trip. "If I *could* vote," said Loco, who's a felon, "I'd vote for Jerry Brown."

Getting the underclass engaged in civic life, one sociopath at a time. When a seriously ill boy in Illinois told the Make-A-Wish Foundation that his dream was to spend a day with rapper Eazy-E, they worked their magic: The child was flown to L.A., where he saw Eazy-E's group, N.W.A (Niggas With Attitude), perform his favorite song, "Fuck tha Police." Do Bush's points-of-light people know about this?

One of Bush's erstwhile would-be opponents, Virginia governor Douglas Wilder, was the subject of a *Washington Post* story this spring, and there was no reaction; it just blew away. "We have seen clichés, slogans and stereotypes," Wilder said in a speech. "We have Republicans talking about 'values' and Democrats talking about 'compassion.'" In *The Cycles of American History*, Arthur Schlesinger wrote, "Down with banality and cliché, with slogan and stereotype! Let Republicans stop talking about 'values' and Democrats stop talking about 'compassion.'" There's a certain familiar order to those words.... "This," Wilder's press secretary declared in his boss's defense, "is what they call in speech-writing circles a literary allusion." Who says people don't read much anymore?

Back when he was a presidential candidate, Wilder told SPY that his favorite song was Marvin Gaye's "Let's Get It On." When asked recently what music *he* likes, Bill Clinton wisely chose a different song: "I could give you a tape of the Alexandria Pentecostal Church Choir Easter *Messiah* service," he said, "and it's better than *Cats*." *Brilliant.* In just 20 words Clinton managed to express his (1) solidarity with vibrant black low-church culture, (2) enthusiasm for dead white Eurocentric high-church culture and (3) backhanded appreciation of mass-market pop culture. He's funky, he's pious, he's elegant, and he's a regular Joe too. And, according to David Wilhelm, his campaign manager, "he has become, to his great frustration, a caricature."

You're a caricature? *Work with it:* Clinton's party has turned to Barry Diller as a special convention adviser on family val—uh, *production* values. "It's to give us more of a television sensitivity," explained an official charged with making the ritual drone inside Madison Square Garden seem fun. Diller, the former chairman of Paramount (which owns the Garden), will tell them when to schedule Tom Foley (early fringe?) and John F. Kennedy Jr. (prime time), but no matter how much TV sensitivity he injects (*Now, I want three full seconds of Daryl, hand-held, the* moment *John-John starts speaking*), the problem is money. Brandon Tartikoff upped the budget of *Patriot Games* by $14-million because he knew he'd be going against the special effects of *Batman Returns*. And Ralston Purina has jammed supermarket shelves full of Batman Returns *breakfast cereal*. The Democrats don't have an extra $14 million for special effects; the whole Clinton campaign hasn't cost that much (the Brown adventure cost less than *Cats*). And is *any* politician exciting enough to move breakfast cereal? The Arkansas governor's name could be appended to some kind of Nutrasweetened raisin bran, Mr. Clinton's Old-Fashioned Goodness Flakes. The Bush cereal, Kennebunkport, might seem inoffensive at first—until consumers started noticing that sprinkled in among the puffed wheat are metal filings ("prizes," a spokesman will claim) and old Lucky Charms. Perot? If that's what it took to win, he'd spend $250 million to acquire the Grape-Nuts brand name, print his picture on the front of the box and (even though he's not sure how much people read anymore) his platform on the back, then set up a nationwide door-to-door breakfast-food delivery system—just like we used to have, in the good old days, back when there was a certain familiar order of things.

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Letters to SPY

From the SPY Mailroom



Let's get one thing straight: We here in the mailroom handle *correspondence*. We are not responsible for mailing out current issues of SPY to subscribers; that is the domain of the Circulation Department. Therefore, we share your surprise and alarm regarding our, uh...*quirky* mailing labels. As a number of you (including Glen G. Gomez of Houma, Louisiana, and Michael Levine of Manhattan) have noticed, subscribers' mailing labels have over the last several months been adorned with cryptic words. In February it was HELP, followed by SAVE in March and then YOUR, SELF, FROM and now THIS. Help save yourself from this *what*? Dianne Carter of Roanoke, Virginia, asks, "Are the mailroom folks just easily amused?" Well, yes, but as we've said, we have nothing to *do* with mailing labels. The tip-off came with a letter from Davis, California, subscriber Steve McLin, who railed, "The address label on my April issue was hanging by a thread! You guys are using weak glue!" It turns out that the reason for both the crazed apocalyptic warnings and the poorly affixed labels is one and the same—our circulation manager, one Randall Stanton, has been *licking every single mailing label*. This may also explain the blisters on his tongue. (It does not, unfortunately, explain why so many people read their mailing labels.) Randall is now in a sheltered workshop (where the doctors have advised us not to take the mailing labels away from him too abruptly), but the scary thing is that a few months back, just before the New York primary, Jerry Brown held a rally in Union Square, right outside the SPY Building. If Randall had owned a high-powered rifle, all of history could have been changed. ▶

Harebrained Scheme

In April you correctly identified as a mammal the whale in "Big Pictures." But your vertebrate-taxonomy editor failed to catch a mistaken reference to "rodents" in "Let Them Eat Bunnies!," by Andy Aaron and Joe Queenan. They are lagomorphs.

Robert Fairchild
Arlington, Virginia

To the contrary, Mr. Fairchild—Aaron and Queenan are not lagomorphs. And Webster's *defines* rodent *as "a small mammal (as a rabbit or shrew)."*

Superb work on Bunny Burgers—the funniest piece in SPY since the great Twinkie-replication experiment ["Twinkie, Twinkie, Little Suet-Filled Sponge-Cake Crisco Log...," by Jane and Michael Stern, July 1989].

Tom Dunlop
New York

On a cost-per-bunny basis, bunnies are an inefficient, expensive form of animal protein (although any loss in meat may be offset by the marketability of the furs and by gains for the environment: Cows produce about 15 percent of the world's atmospheric methane yearly, whereas rabbits are much less flatulent).

Your article is grossly unethical. You imply that your Bunny Burgers account was the reason a PR employee left his job. And it is a deceptive business practice to say that you are serving rabbit burgers while serving ground bird.

Michael Cammer
New York

And what percentage of the world's atmospheric methane do you *produce, Mr. Cammer?*

I greatly enjoyed "Let Them Eat Bunnies!," but the premise—the absurdity of marketing fast-food rabbit meat—serves to illustrate the hopeless (or is it hopless?) provincialism of SPY. In 1983, Richard Stewart of West Lafayette, Indiana, introduced the first Hop Scotch Restaurant. The venture was covered by *People*, *Life*, the Associated Press and *The Wall Street Journal*, and Johnny Carson mentioned Hop Scotch in a monologue.

William J. Getty
Hampton Beach,
New Hampshire

A chain of fast-food bunny restaurants in San Antonio, Rapid Rabbit, aired TV spots featuring a cuddly bunny mascot and the tag line "We serve rabbit four ways: baked, fried, broiled... or *smothered*!" (San Antonio might well leave behind its dusty Alamo City image to become America's testing ground for baroque fast food: A chain of gaudily neoned kiosks titled Pig Stands does brisk business with its "famous Pig Sandwich.")

Arthur Diggins
Los Angeles, California

All the rabbit restaurants mentioned above and in From the SPY Mailroom have failed. SPY *stands by its claim that America will not eat bunny.*

Judge...NOT!

Congratulations to Lynda Edwards on her March article ["Gag Rule: How the Republicans and One Weak-kneed Democrat—Joe Biden—Suppressed the Truth About Clarence Thomas"]. I felt encouraged at the suggestion, on your cover, of a possible impeachment. I would appreciate advice on how to get involved in such a noble cause.

William R. Ruffles III
Fairhope, Alabama ➳

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The response to "Let Them Eat Bunnies!" (April) has been overwhelming. Or, we should say, overwhelmingly from readers who claim to have seen actual bunny burgers in the Midwest. David Nuell of Santa Barbara mentioned a "bunny palace" in Lafayette, Indiana; an anonymous caller said there used to be a Bunny Drive-In in Copley, Ohio; and Lyle Merdler of South Euclid, Ohio, sent an empty bag of Funny Bunny potato chips. (The ingredients list does not include rabbit, though the package does bear the frightening legend MOISTURE AND LIGHT ARE DESTROYERS OF FLAVOR AND CRISPNESS.) In other Bunny Burger news, L.A.'s Alexander V. Areno wants to know, "Have you counted the number of readers who have called to hear the jingle?" No, but one person who has is a woman in Brooklyn whose phone number is the 718-area-code equivalent of our 212 number. Apparently, some outer-borough readers forgot to dial the Manhattan area code. She was not happy ("Fuckin' quit it already....Yeah, you *better* be sorry" was her typical response). When SPY contacted her to apologize, she had calmed down a bit. "We had [problems like] that once with a car dealer in the Bronx when they switched from 212 to 718," she said. "I got so sick of it, I just started telling people I was out of the part."

A Stratford, Connecticut, reader with the improbable name of Napoleon St. Cyr writes, "In 1988, I bought a Jeep Cherokee. Five months later it began to fall apart in small and larger pieces. Complaints made their way up from the dealer, then up the corporate ladder." But, of course, not even a letter to Lee Iacocca himself could get the Jeep repaired. Now Mr. St. Cyr has understandably turned to us. What can we say? We'd love to help, but we're out of the part.

CORRECTION

In June's Party Poop, we mistakenly identified Connie Stevens as Dyan Cannon. (But then, who wouldn't?)

Anita Hill! The vixen! How sweet for SPY to rescue Ms. Hill from her rightful place alongside her confreres Tawana Brawley, Gennifer Flowers, Jessica Hahn, and who was that wench who tried to do in Chuck Robb? No matter. What the little minx failed to achieve in her Howard Metzenbaum–orchestrated show trial—credibility—may she now achieve through the revisionist press, including Lynda Edwards's Soviet-style disinformation campaign? Perhaps.

Just as Hill's eclectic tale of woe drew on works of literature (*The Exorcist*) and even the annals of published opinions (Long Dong Silver), so does Edwards's. The bit about Hill's co-worker loitering in the john to eavesdrop on disloyal EEOC employees gossiping about then-chairman Thomas is straight out of the movie *9 to 5*. Good try, Ms. Edwards.

Jim Crane
Macon, Georgia

Congratulations, Mr. Crane. You're the only reader to suspect that Lynda Ed-

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David Duke thinks it contains communist codes.

William Kennedy Smith just wants to know if it gets chicks hot.



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wards's article was really assembled from bits of Dolly Parton movies. But if you're so smart—and you are, really, you are—*how come you missed the references to* Rhinestone*?*

Your article will be, *must* be the opening shot for impeachment proceedings. You should publish it as a reprint and make it generally available. This is an issue that simply will not go away! In fact, some of us want to raise the Thomas issue as part of the Democratic Party platform.

Barbara Tomlinson
Seattle, Washington

Other Voices, Other Letters

In March's "Big Pictures," you have an unauthorized photograph of me shaking David Duke's hand. This picture is taken out of context. *I am not a David Duke supporter.* The picture was taken at a New Orleans air show. I was associated with an organization that dealt with the advancement of black civil servants and had discussed the possibility of interviewing Edwin Edwards during the gubernatorial race; since this organization consisted of government employees, we were advised that if we met with only one candidate, we might be in violation of the Hatch Act. I spoke with Duke at the air show about a possible interview. Unfortunately, this picture made it appear that I was one of "David Duke's Black Pals."

Ultimately, we decided not to interview Duke or Edwards. The reason was clear—we didn't want to give Duke additional publicity.

Karen Y. Gibson
New Orleans, Louisiana

SPY *regrets any implication that Ms. Gibson is a supporter of David Duke's.*

SPY *welcomes letters from its readers. Address correspondence to* SPY, *The SPY Building, 5 Union Square West, New York, N.Y. 10003. Typewritten letters are preferred. Please include your daytime telephone number. Letters may be edited for length or clarity.*

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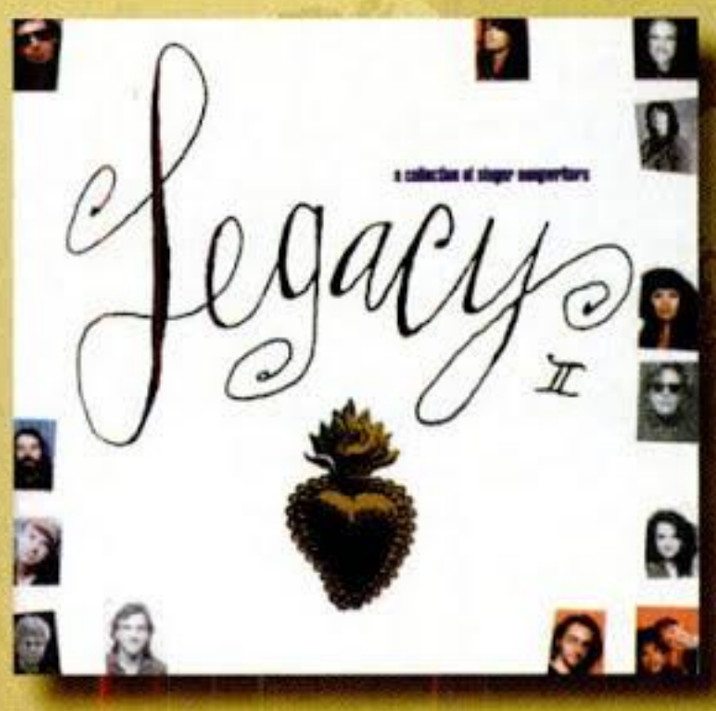
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The Prodigal-Son Option

Back in the early 1970s, the *Times* hired a member of that heroic first generation of investigative journalists to be its star reporter. His name was Seymour Hersh, and he had won a Pulitzer for reporting on My Lai. Hersh quit the *Times* in 1979 to write books, but he has periodically returned to the paper for special projects, lately working out of the Washington bureau. His writings have left a trail of corrections and legal actions behind them, and while some of these missteps have involved the *Times*, this didn't stop the paper of record from hiring Hersh last fall to look into the October Surprise. Nor did his indiscriminately irascible and insulting personality. But now Hersh and a source are being sued because of one of Hersh's most recent *Times* dispatches; Hersh is no longer working on the October Surprise for the paper, and he can't even get arrested on West 43rd Street. He and his bosses say the decision on his departure was mutual. According to a Washington-bureau colleague, the *Times* was happy to see him go after he failed to get the goods on a pre-election hostage deal. Surely a pending libel suit did not help matters.

The current libel action was provoked by Hersh's assertion last winter that the Wisconsin-based Terex Corporation, which manufactures heavy equipment, provided "missile launchers for the Iraqi military." According to an Editors' Note that appeared a week later, Hersh's confirmation of the sale was based on "an accusation by an unidentified informant who was himself relying on an anonymous source."

Before Hersh and the *Times* broke up, Warren Hoge, the editor of the *Times Magazine*, passed on an article recounting Hersh's adventures in search of the October Surprise—a how-he-didn't-get-the-story story. Such a piece would probably have involved Ari Ben-Menashe, the extremely unreliable source who provided the most startling information in Hersh's latest book, *The Samson Option*. (For example, Ben-Menashe said that Robert Maxwell and a London editor were Mossad collaborators, charges that have brought on two libel suits in England.) Hoge declined to lend the *Times* imprimatur to Hersh's loony supersource. Hersh was then shunted over to Joel Brinkley, a former Jerusalem-bureau chief and currently a *Times* editor. Perhaps afraid of crippling his own career at the paper, the ultra-prudent, blowhardy Brinkley also passed. In the words of a *Times* colleague, Hersh "went bananas."

This new snubbing of old Sy Hersh, even when it is being done by wormy inferiors such as Hoge, seems prudent, for Hersh and the *Times* together have had their undeserving victims. Howard Teicher, for example, was a White House national-security director. In 1987, Hersh wrote that Teicher had known of Oliver North's plans to divert funds to the contras, which Teicher denies. Hersh at first explained to Teicher that the offending passages were the result of a "mechanical error." The retraction offered by Hersh was never forthcoming, but the *Times* did eventually publish a letter from Teicher. Then there's Edward Korry, the former ambassador to Chile whose career Hersh practically ruined by saying he had played a part in the CIA overthrow of Salvador Allende. Years after portraying him as a liar on the front page of the *Times*, Hersh called Korry for help on the Kissinger biography he was writing. Korry cooperated after Hersh agreed to explain to the *Times* that he had been wrong. The result was a *3,000*-word correction written by Hersh.

Hersh may no longer be welcome at the *Times*, but he is not disappearing. He is close to signing a lucrative deal with Little, Brown for a book about Watergate. As a result, his friendship with Bob Woodward is showing signs of strain. Meanwhile, the *Times*, which has never excelled at investigative journalism, has all but given up on breaking big stories, ceding that territory to papers like *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. For all his waywardness, Hersh at least has daring; like a self-regarding general, the *Times* doesn't visit the front lines until after a battle is over.

—*J. J. Hunsecker*



Seymour

Now Seymour Hersh can't even get arrested on West 43rd Street

Illustration by Barry Blitt

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THE BOHEMIAN SPIRIT.
NOT TOO HARD TO SPOT.

Bohemia
JUDGED THE BEST



Ambassador Kaplan?

Bill Clinton has scores of useful, highly placed friends, and one of them, we've learned, is Rick Kaplan of ABC News. Kaplan is the Andre the Giant–ish executive producer of *PrimeTime Live*, a newsmagazine show, and has a duty to be disinterested while covering the presidential campaign. Nevertheless, he directly advised and helped Clinton during the primary season.

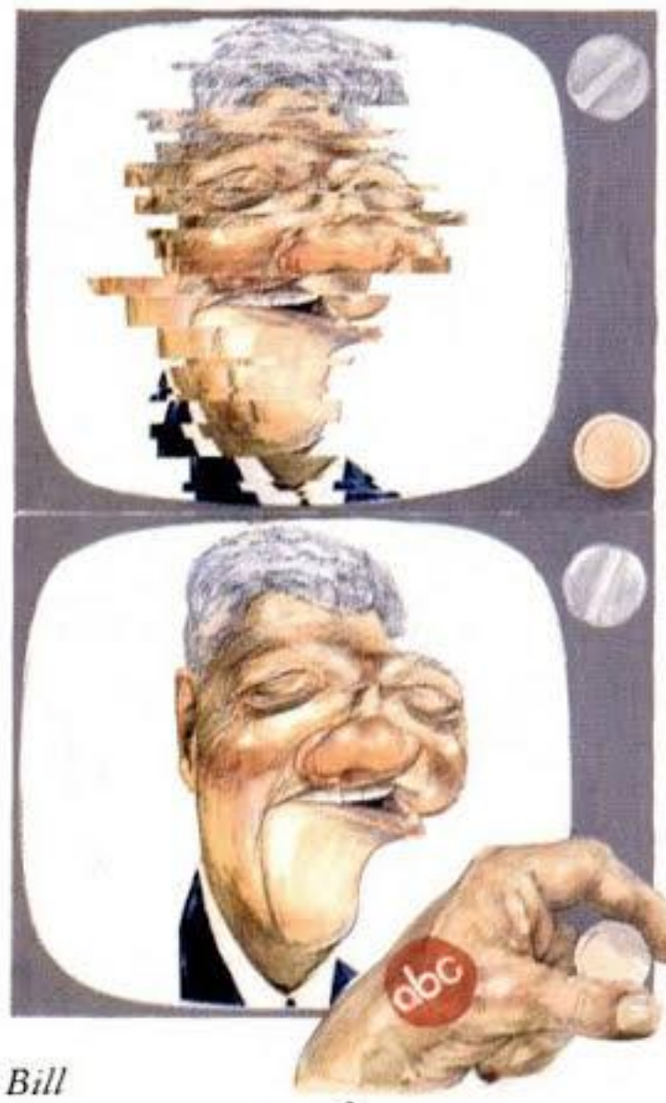
Kaplan's involvement with the Clinton campaign began as early as last summer, when he attended campaign staff meetings and boasted to a member of the Democratic National Committee about how he'd helped set up Clinton's press office. In February, when news of Clinton's draft-deferment history broke, Kaplan suggested to the Clintonites that the campaign immediately release Clinton's letter to his would-be ROTC commander. Kaplan also recommended a *Nightline* appearance for that very night. (Kaplan was once the executive producer of *Nightline*.) Clinton couldn't have hoped for a better platform—Ted Koppel read the entire letter, not just out-of-context bites.

Clinton's appearance on Don Imus's WFAN morning radio show is considered to have been a turning point for his beleaguered New York campaign, which was hobbled by aggressive tabloid coverage and the southern governor's clumsiness when dealing with New York City's gorgeous ethnic mosaic. The very popular Imus belongs to the outrageous school of radio hosts, and he had regularly been roasting Clinton for his crackerness—calling him Bubba, for example—so his show was the perfect venue to begin a rebound from the sensationalist and multicultural onslaught. As previously reported here (November 1991), *PrimeTime*'s boss is close to Imus. Indeed, Kaplan coordinated the governor's appearance on the radio show. He briefed Clinton on the eve of the broadcast, and the candidate came off as funny, self-deprecating and likable.

Arkansas natives Linda Bloodworth-Thomason and Harry Thomason, who produce the CBS sitcoms *Evening Shade* and *Designing Women*, have generally been cited as the pros who wrote Clinton's one-liners for the Imus appearance. The Thomasons are longtime Clinton friends—in fact, the governor's ne'er-do-well brother works as a production assistant on *Designing Women*—and they help the campaign with television ads and speech writing. But it is a bit implausible that two ex-Ozark Angelenos would be so fluent in the shtick of a local New York deejay that they could make up snappy comebacks for Clinton. Sources at *PrimeTime* believe Kaplan scripted Clinton's on-air wit, including the ethnically knowing, Kaplanesque riposte "*Bubba* is just Southern for 'mensch.'"

Just in case any potential voters missed the Imus show, two camera crews from *Nightline* shot the event: One filmed Imus in his WFAN studio, while the other filmed Clinton calling the talk show from his Sheraton hotel suite. The footage then appeared on *Nightline*. So an ABC News executive helped arrange Clinton's appearance, then briefed the candidate and possibly wrote his lines, and ABC's *Nightline* covered the interview as news. Why doesn't Kaplan rehearse Clinton for an interview on *PrimeTime* and skip the middlemen?

Kaplan's connection to Clinton comes through Susan Thomases, a high-powered Democratic insider and a part of the Clinton brain trust. The two go back to the days when Kaplan worked under Thomases in Eugene McCarthy's 1968 campaign. In 1984, ABC News used Thomases as a consultant for its convention coverage. The question now is whether Kaplan and Thomases are still working together. *PrimeTime* has treated Clinton gently. The only segment about the candidate that the show has aired was an easygoing interview with Hillary by Sam Donaldson. Hillary was billed as "lawyer, political adviser, wife and mother."



Bill

Rick Kaplan, the executive producer of *PrimeTime Live*, directly advised Clinton during the primaries

Illustration by Dan Sweetman

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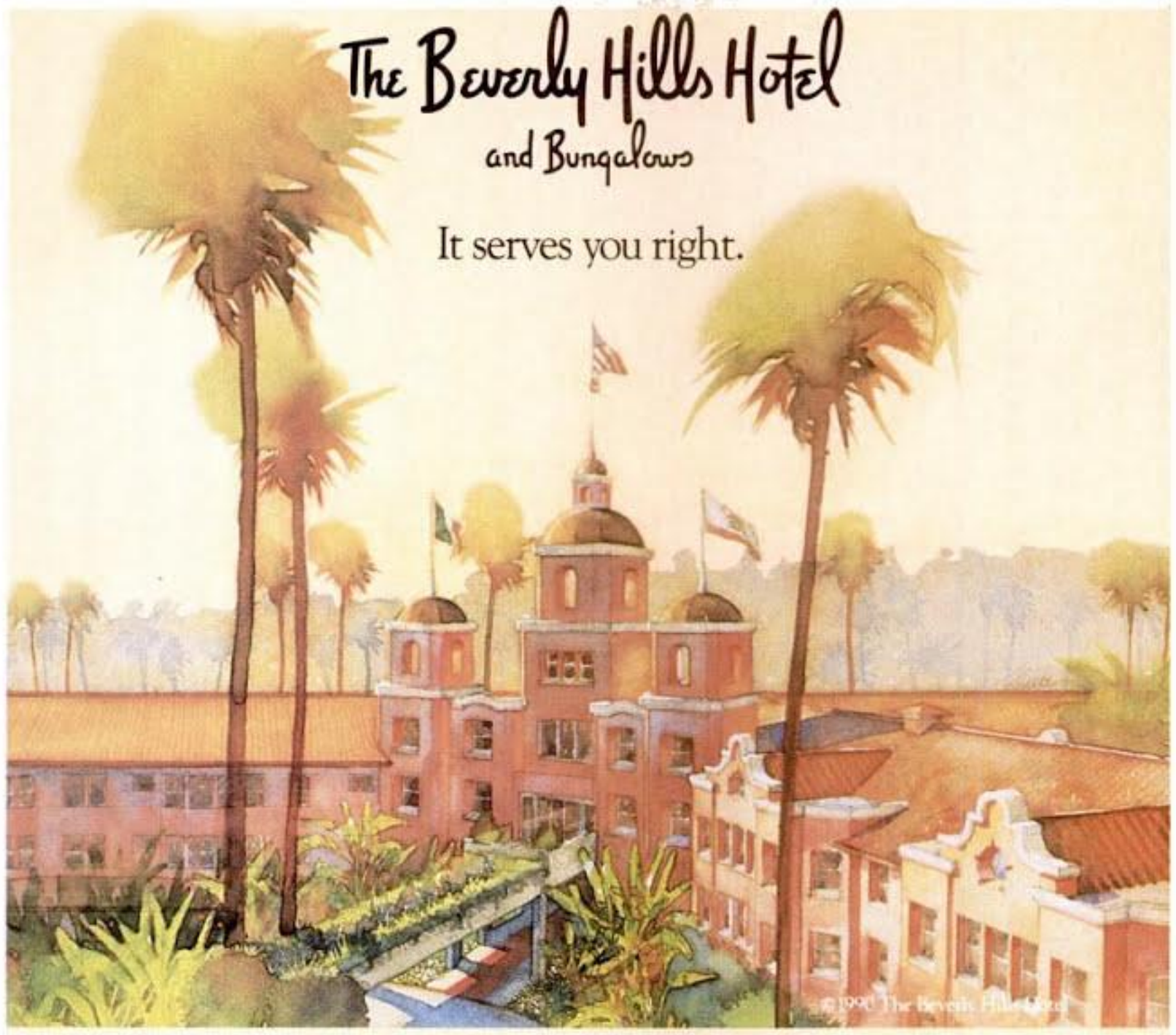
FDR's journalist pal was Walter Lippman—how appropriate for our times that their equivalents are Bill Clinton and Rick Kaplan. Kaplan, the former Gene McCarthy campaigner, might rationalize his behavior as a bout of idealism. Or he may justify it as an opportunity to gain unique access to the White House if Clinton manages to win. Conceivably, he might actually want a White House job. But would Kaplan have compromised journalistic principles simply out of some desperate desire to be a behind-the-scenes, ego-bloated big shot? Of course not.

. . .

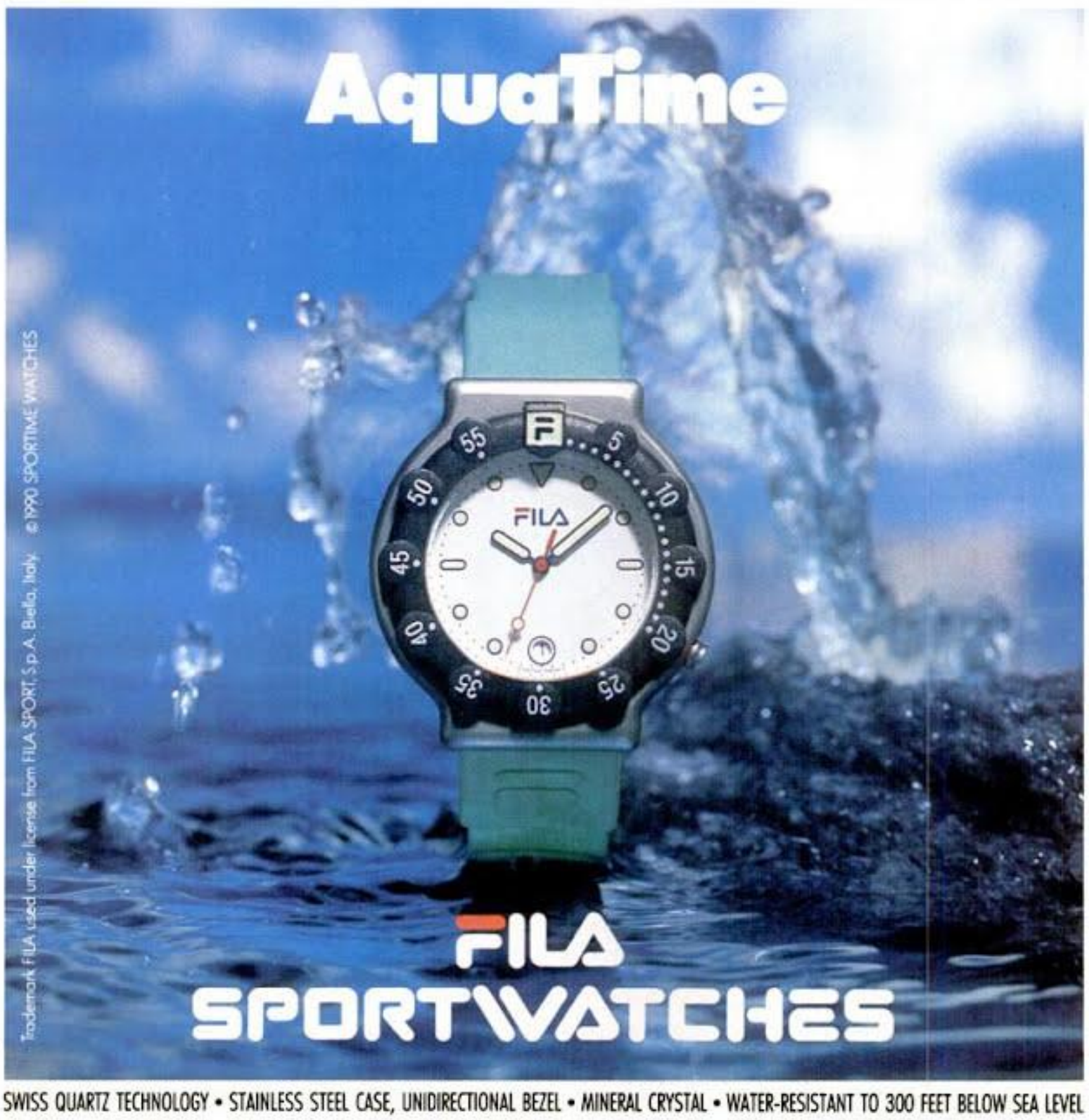
Tom Brokaw assures us that he's looking at producers not to replace *Nightly News* executive producer Steve Friedman (see this space, last month) but rather to work under Friedman, or for Paul Greenberg at *The Brokaw Report*.

I would like to correct some errors I made last month in describing the to-and-fro between Brokaw and Friedman. The quotes attributed to them—"You're the reason this show's a mess!"; "No, *you're* the reason!"—should have been expressed as paraphrases, not quotes. Friedman has indeed deferred more to Brokaw since the contretemps, but I should not have written that NBC News president Michael Gartner directly instructed him to do so, although Gartner has had concerned discussions with Friedman and others about making changes in the broadcast, and in general, Friedman's work is being scrutinized more closely by various superiors. Face-to-face, Gartner has criticized Friedman on at least one occasion, as I wrote, but I should not have written that this has recurred "ever since" the Brokaw-Friedman fight. And finally, in the story broadcast by *Nightly News* about an artist friend of Friedman's, Friedman appeared not in a shot of a New Orleans gallery but in a shot of Louisiana Mardi Gras revelry.

—Laureen Hobbs



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The Rising Sun Shines Hard on Hollywood

For some time, certain Nipponophobic elements out here have been whispering—loudly—that Sony's eleventh-hour cancellation of Milos Forman's sumo movie, *Hell Camp*, amounted to some kind of betrayal of Hollywood by the Japanese. That's disingenuous. But then, so was Sony: Although the company says it did what it could to sway Japan's powerful Sumo Association in favor of the movie, the truth is that Sony executives, unhappy with the film but afraid of appearing too hands-on, quietly *requested* that the sumo authorities decline to provide necessary assistance, thus relieving themselves of any bad-cop onus. In the wake of that brouhaha, and of major rewrites in Universal's Japan-joshing *Mr. Baseball* following that studio's (still-undigested) swallowing by Matsushita, Hollywood's honeymoon with the Japanese has ended. (Lew Wasserman, of all people, must have just *loved* sitting on that little chair, like one more toaster-division manager, at Matsushita's executive congress in Osaka earlier this year.) And as the silly local disillusionment rises, so does the grumbling about the man who brokered both Sony's purchase of Columbia and Matsushita's of MCA: Mike "Ninja Investment Banker" Ovitz. Not only is poor Mike taking some of the blame, but he can't even get the credit. He is still upset by Connie Bruck's *New Yorker* article on the Matsushita-MCA acquisition, which he feels depicted him as rather peripheral to the deal.

It's understandable that Japanese proprietors are sensitive about protecting the image of sumo wrestling, but the hottest sport in Hollywood is Sony Lotto—a get-rich-quick scheme in which the lucky player is fired by the studio in exchange for a fortune. Sony USA president Mickey Schulhof seems oblivious to the fact that Hollywood snickers at him for authorizing huge severance checks to sacked executives such as Dawn Steel, Jon Peters and Frank Price.

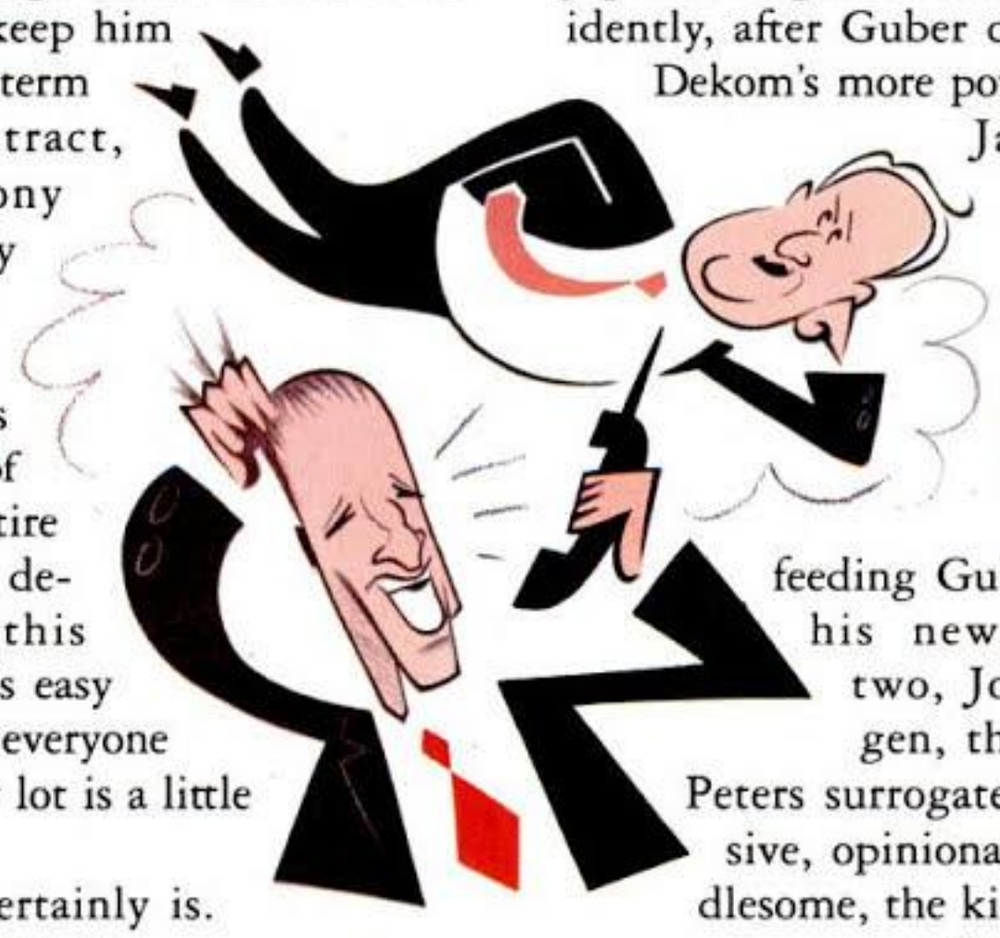
The Japanese are said to be especially upset about the Price affair. He was hired by Sony Pictures chairman Peter Guber in 1990, but it now looks as though Guber had never intended to keep him for the full term of his contract, which Sony had to pay millions to buy out. Add to this the purge of TriStar's entire production department this year and it's easy to see why everyone on the Sony lot is a little on edge.

Guber certainly is. Consider his reaction to the weenie-ish carryings-on of Jay Sures, the newly minted agent with United Talent Agency who whipped off that now widely quoted letter to the Sony division that sells phones. Sures wrote, "I am confident that if I sent these phones to my friend and business associate Peter Guber of Sony, or to Akio Morita in New York...they both would be embarrassed...." Guber went ballistic in his reply to the insufferable little nobody: "Please erase my name from your Rolodex, and from your memory."

If this exchange seems both juvenile and insane, even by Hollywood standards, it could be because Guber has been addled by the time he's had to spend flying back and forth to Japan recently, mollifying his bosses. But not everyone in Hollywood thinks the Japanese assertion of control is a bad thing. Power lawyer Peter Dekom, for one, has been dispensing his opinion that the Japanese ought to rein in Guber. Evidently, after Guber complained to Dekom's more powerful partner Jake Bloom, Dekom decided to refrain temporarily from spouting off to the press.

Probably feeding Guber's frenzy is his newish number two, Jonathan Dolgen, the perfect Jon Peters surrogate—loud, abrasive, opinionated and meddlesome, the kind of guy you don't want to sit near on an airplane, let alone work with.

No wonder TriStar chairman Mike Medavoy has been spending more time in New York. Medavoy, an only slightly tiresome mensch, is depressed about the business and seems locked in a perpetual midlife crisis. As ever, he is still preaching his orthodox liberalism and puffing on Cuban cigars (acquired, at least during apart-



Peter and Mike

Sony's Guber has been addled by the time he has spent flying back and forth to Japan

Illustration by Robert Risko

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heid, through South Africa). And as ever, he has been defending his pet, Woody Allen. Striving to justify TriStar's new deal with the consistently underprofitable Woodman, Medavoy is insisting that Allen actually *made* money for him at Orion. Indeed, he talks endlessly about the good old days, which to him means his string of Oscars dating back to *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*. But he seems to have effectively abdicated in favor of president Mark Platt, the 34-year-old glad-handing doofus from Orion, and Platt's number two (or one and a half), the cunning 30-year-old Stacy Lassally. Lassally seems politically golden: Guber threw her a wedding bash this spring, and she and Columbia chairman Mark Canton are said to be extremely close.

The ridiculous Canton is one of the new breed of 1990s-style executives—a poor man's Brandon Tartikoff. He makes a point of not reading scripts on weekends and not going to other studios' screenings. But unlike Tartikoff, whose hubris may be deserved, Canton tends to come across as merely insufferable. "When you are with Mark Canton, he's not there," says one young director. "He just walks around thinking he's invincible."

Invincible? Columbia and TriStar do not have a great slate of pictures for the rest of the summer and fall. In fact, Medavoy spent so much time overseeing gargantuan productions last year that he didn't plan anything for this summer, leaving TriStar with just two summer movies, both pickups: *Wind*, a yachting movie (uh-oh) starring Matthew Modine, and a Jean-Claude Van Damme masterpiece, *Universal Soldier*. Columbia also has a Van Damme flick this fall (oh, *good*) as well as *Honeymoon in Vegas* (James Caan and Nick Cage) and *The Pickle* (Danny Aiello and Dyan Cannon). Maybe it's just me, but I think a good sumo movie would have helped. Sayonara, and see you Monday night at Mortons. —*Celia Brady*

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Naked City

The Usual Suspects

1

If entertaining TV blusterer **John McLaughlin** felt any contrition after ponying up a six-figure sum to settle a sexual-harassment suit in 1989, he is evidently over it. When one female employee recently asked him, referring to a missing overnight bag, "What happened to your small black thing?," McLaughlin said, "I told her not to bother me in the office." Occasionally, however, the ex-priest's off-camera performances move beyond racy to mortifying. As a recent staff meeting was breaking up, McLaughlin noticed a wet spot behind his chair and asked whether it was a dribble of his special, saccharin-riddled hot chocolate or of something less savory. He called to a senior staff member who was already on the way out the door and demanded of her, *Put your finger in it*. She obeyed, nervously. *Smell it*, he ordered. She did. It was water.



John

2

Poor, beleaguered **Sally Quinn**. The dirty-book writer and former *Washington Post* reporter recently published a hugely controversial essay called "Who Killed Feminism?" in the *Post*. The sexy and charismatic Quinn is, of course, married to sexy and charismatic former *Post* editor **Ben Bradlee**, on whose social and professional coattails her feminist nemeses are now accusing her of riding. The other day in Georgetown Quinn showed up alone at a party and promptly spotted *Post* proprietor **Katharine Graham.** The queenly Graham turned, smiled and introduced Quinn to a visiting South African as Sally Bradlee. "I am *not* Sally Bradlee," said the alleged antifeminist, "I am Sally *Quinn*." Is it sexist to call what followed a catfight? Moments later, Graham confronted Quinn: *How dare you embarrass me!* But Quinn was equally apoplectic: *How dare you embarrass* me*!* And thus ended another entertaining chapter in the public unraveling of glamour-puss feminism.

Sally

3

You are a sick and perverted person. This conversation is terminated, said the salesman at a Times Square electronics store in the heat of a recent debate with *faux*-naïf recording star and Irish boor **Sinéad O'Connor**. O'Connor was trying to return a camera lens because, she said, she had found the same lens elsewhere for $300 less. The employees told her the cheaper lens wasn't, in fact, the same one. But O'Connor continued her rant, resisting her handler's efforts to calm her down. *Next time you want to buy* anything, he said, *call me first.* Finally, simply to get rid of her, the store capitulated and refunded O'Connor's money. She left promptly—but then, once outside, stopped, left the handler, stepped back into the doorway and called out across the store, *You're a sleazeball, and nobody would fuck you if you were dying, and your mother sucks cocks in hell.* Satisfied, the singer-songwriter of "I Do Not Want What I Haven't Got" strutted out and off.

Sinéad

Hand lettering by Lilla Rogers

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The L.A. Riots: Ten Ironies

A Dispatch from Our West Coast Bureau

1. The street where the most black-owned businesses were burned was Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard.

2. A post office across from a burned-out mini-mall displayed the banner PROUD SPONSORS OF THOSE WHO CARRY THE TORCH.

3. As looters pulled into a Von's supermarket to pillage the store, they parked their cars neatly within the white lines and even left handicapped spaces clear.

4. Korean gang members, who during calmer times extort "protection" money from Korean store owners, were actually called in to provide protection.

5. Reginald Denny, the white truck driver beaten on videotape, was delivering gravel to a building site in South-Central to help lay the foundations for low-cost housing.

6. In the Valley, people who disparaged looters as opportunistic and panicky panicked themselves and rushed out to gas stations, where owners had opportunistically raised prices.

7. The only Korean to die was shot by panicky Koreans as they defended their restaurant, which the victim's family described as one of his favorites.

8. As an astute L.A. gang member noted, closing schools in South-Central gave kids the day off to go looting.

9. First the police hid in their squad cars with the lights off and tried to pretend they weren't there. Then they tried to trick people into thinking there were twice as many of them by propping riot helmets at head level in the backs of their cruisers.

10. In a *Los Angeles Times* special report, "Understanding the Riots: Part I," a list of moments that have defined the city included "Fernandomania" (April 1981) but not the appointment of Police Chief Daryl Gates (March 1978). —*Lynda Gorov, Tom Mashberg and Nell Scovell*

Private Lives of Public Figures



H. Ross Perot's presidential nominating convention, back home in Dallas.

Illustration by Drew Friedman

The Fine Print

by Jamie Malanowski



The Sporting Life

Though the investigation into rape accusations against three New York Mets last spring got considerable coverage, some information that police developed about other Mets players received scant attention. Here are excerpts from two interviews detectives conducted with possible witnesses: one with Mets pitcher David Cone, who had been involved with the accuser (hereafter A), and one with Lisa Durfee of New York, who was a friend of A's.

Detective Rick Wilson: *How many times during spring training did you... date [A]?*
David Cone: I would say approximately three times....
Lieutenant Scott Bartal: *How far would you say that relationship went?...*
We had sex on all three dates, including the first time we met....
How long into the relationship, from the time you met her, until it got intimate?
Within four ▶

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hours....
When was the next time you were with [A]?
Within three or four days after that....
Now, the third time....
On the third occasion...the one girl, [whose name] you say is Lisa, [whose name] I don't recall, embarrassingly so...we were all together... for lack of a better cliché, it was a very consensual ménage à trois, in which they were both involved.

Later, Wilson asked Cone whether any of the three accused Mets had discussed having sex with A.

Cone: Vince [Coleman] told me...that Dwight [Gooden] and Daryl [Boston] had sex with her, and that he didn't. That he, he maybe just was, uh, involved from an oral-sex nature.
Lieutenant Bartal: *Did that surprise you that [A] would have had [sex] with...three blacks?*
No....She seemed to me to be very modern in her thinking, very Manhattan, so to speak, if that makes sense; a very modern way of thinking. Nonprejudicial, in other words.

Two days later, Wilson interviewed Durfee, who had accompanied A to Florida. They'd met Cone and then-Met Ron Darling after a workout.

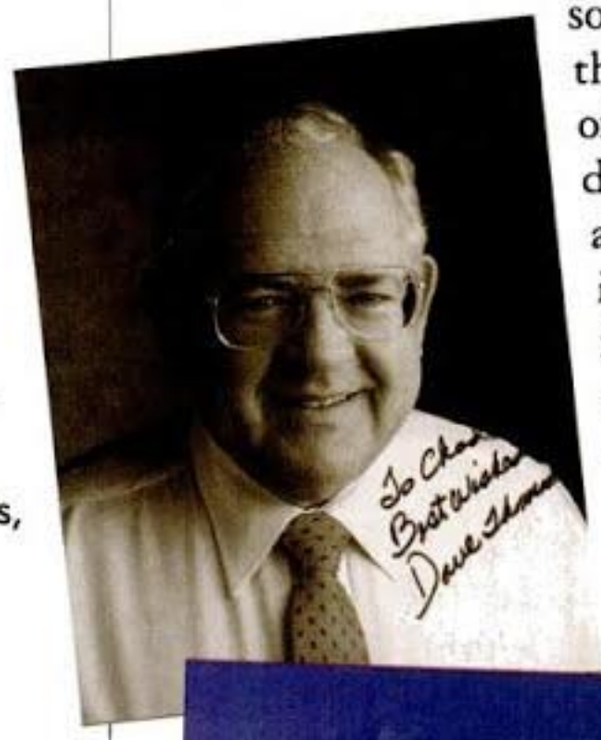
Wilson: *Did [Cone and Darling] invite you to meet 'em for a drink...?*
Durfee: Yeah....We went to David Cone's house. ▶

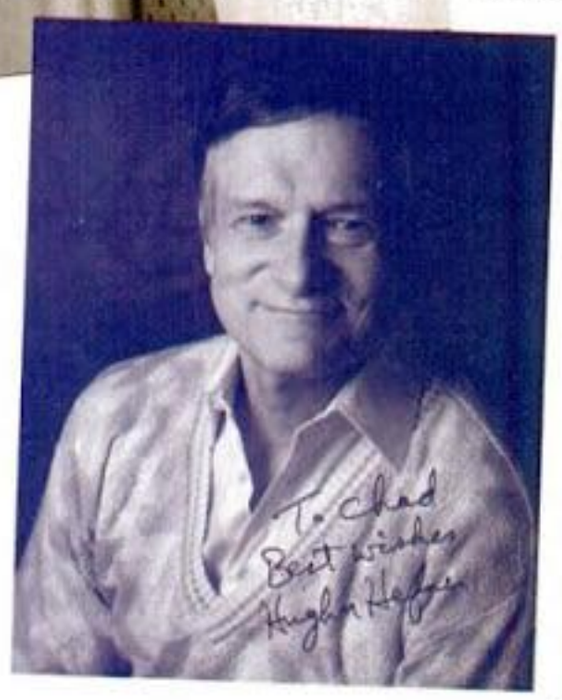
Naked City

Neither Rain nor Snow nor Dead of Career...

A SPY Celebrity Postal Experiment

How famous is famous? We've always figured that if an average American—say, a Postal Service employee—knows your name or your face, you're a bona fide somebody. Thus, SPY's Celebrity Postal Experiment, in which the relative famousness of 58 celebrities has been determined by their ability to receive incompletely addressed fan mail. Each celebrity was sent four letters: the first inscribed with only the celebrity's name; the second, with the celebrity's name, city and ZIP code; the third, with only a glued-on photograph of the celebrity; and the fourth bearing a photograph and the pictured celebrity's city and ZIP code. All the letters requested an autographed photo for a fictitious 12-year-old boy named Chad.





The experiment offers many revelations on the nature of celebrity. Among them: that no matter how famous you are, an envelope adorned with nothing but your likeness will not be delivered to you (all the photo-only letters were returned); that no matter how big Madonna and Woody Allen are on the coasts, heartland favorites like Norm Schwarzkopf, Ann Landers and Michael Jordan (the only people whose *names alone* were enough to get mail to them) win out in the postal-clerk-recognizability department; and that Tina Brown is in the same rank of celebrity as Bob Denver and Charles Manson, who were insufficiently famous to receive *any* of our letters.

—Chip Rowe

CELEBRITY	Name, City, ZIP	Photo, City, ZIP
Muhammad Ali	*	*
Sonny Bono	**	*
Charlie Brown and Snoopy	**	**
David Dinkins	**	*
Jerry Falwell	**	**
Zsa Zsa Gabor	**[1]	
Hugh Hefner	**	
Jesse Helms	*	*
Katharine Hepburn	**[2]	*
Michael Jackson	*	
Michael Jordan	*	*
Victor Kiam	*	[3]
Don King	**	**
Ted Koppel	**	*
Ann Landers	**	*
Spike Lee	**	*
David Letterman	**	*
Wayne Newton	**	**
John Cardinal O'Connor		**[4]
Ronald and Nancy Reagan	**	*
Robert Redford		**
Norman Schwarzkopf	**	**
Brooke Shields	**	*
Liz Smith	*	
Elizabeth Taylor	**	*
Dave Thomas	*	**
Hunter S. Thompson	*	
Donald Trump	**	**
Ted Turner and Jane Fonda	**	
Raquel Welch	**	
George Will	**	**[5]
Frank Zappa	*	*

***denotes that the letter was delivered.**
****denotes that the letter was delivered and received a response.**

1. *Autographed photo was a 1950s-vintage postcard promoting a Gabor performance at the Dunes Hotel in Las Vegas.*
2. *A terse note on KATHARINE HOUGHTON HEPBURN stationery explained, "Miss Hepburn does not sign or send photographs or other items."*
3. *Letter was returned undelivered with a Hitler mustache drawn on Kiam's face.*
4. *O'Connor's autographed Bachrach portrait was accompanied by a note that read, "I can't believe (your letter) reached me."*
5. *One of Will's assistants wrote back, to Chad's mother. The letter read, in part, "Do you have any other children?...I am extremely sorry if this question offends you in any way. It was not asked for that purpose at all."*


Katharine Houghton Hepburn

VII - 9 - 1991

Dear Chad Roe -

Thank you for your nice note - I am sorry but Miss Hepburn does not sign or send photographs or other items.

Sharon Powers

Sharon Powers
for Miss Hepburn

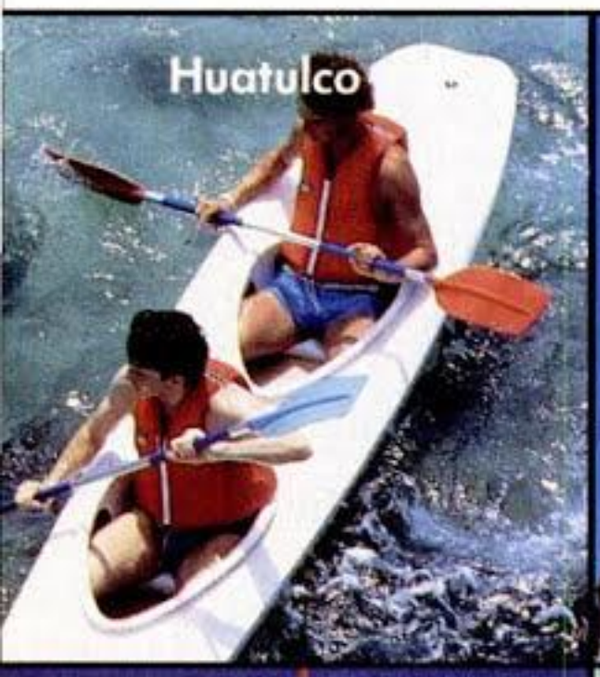
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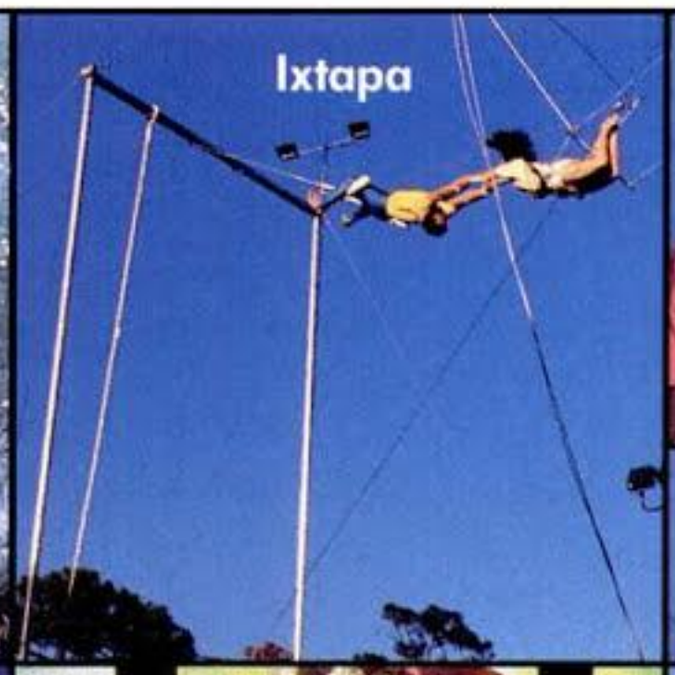
Like the perfect gown or a well-tailored suit, a Club Med vacation has to fit.

At Club Med, vacations come in different sizes and styles. Some cater to couples, others to singles. Some offer families a week of kids' activities so parents can enjoy a week of their own. There are vacations that focus on water sports. Others on tennis and horseback riding. Some for exploring the oceans via intensive scuba programs. Another that lets you cruise the Caribbean aboard the world's largest sailing ship, the Club Med I. The question, of course, is *which* Club Med will give you precisely the vacation you're looking for? Fortunately, the answer is as simple as asking your travel agent, or calling **1-800-CLUB-MED.** No squeezing big vacation plans into a one-size-fits-all package. No altering your schedule to suit someone else's itinerary. As long as you have a vacation in mind, Club Med has a vacation you'll long remember. Somehow, it seems fitting.

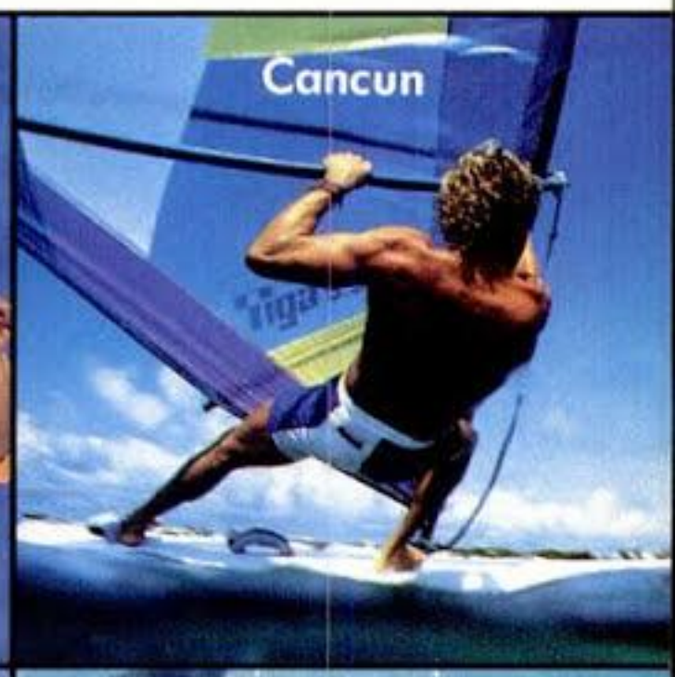
Club Med
The antidote for civilization.

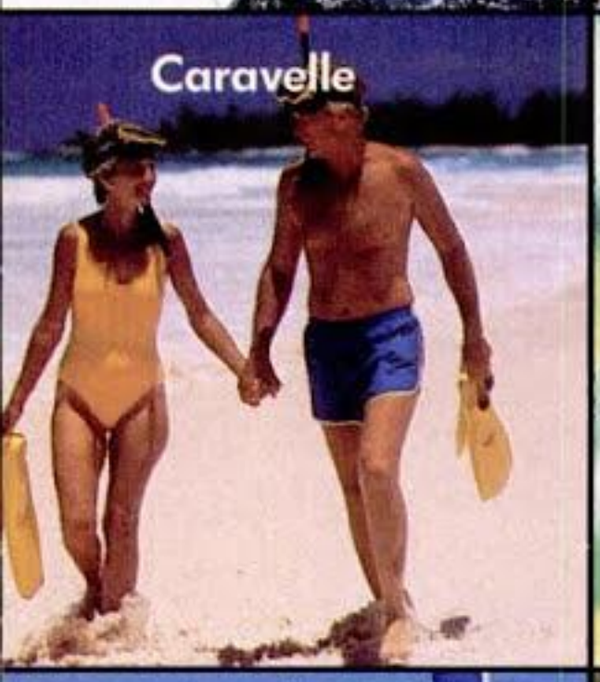
This year, take home a Club Med vacation.

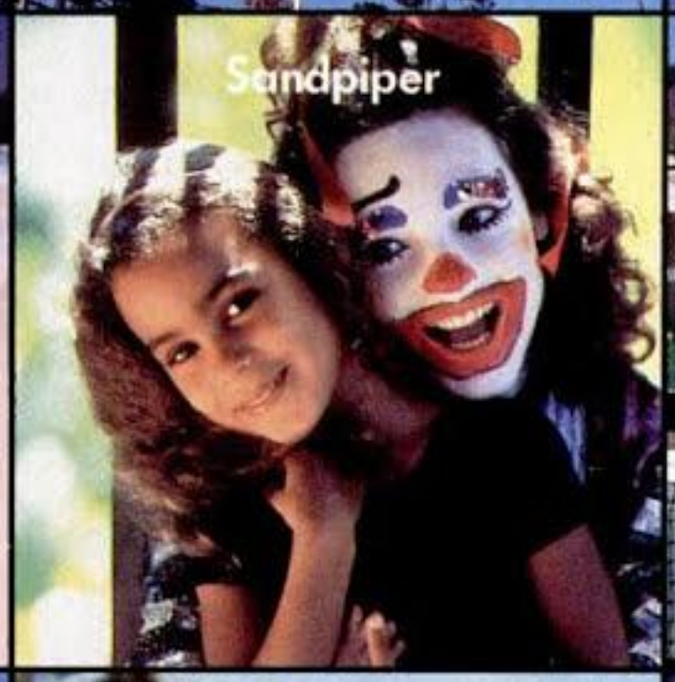


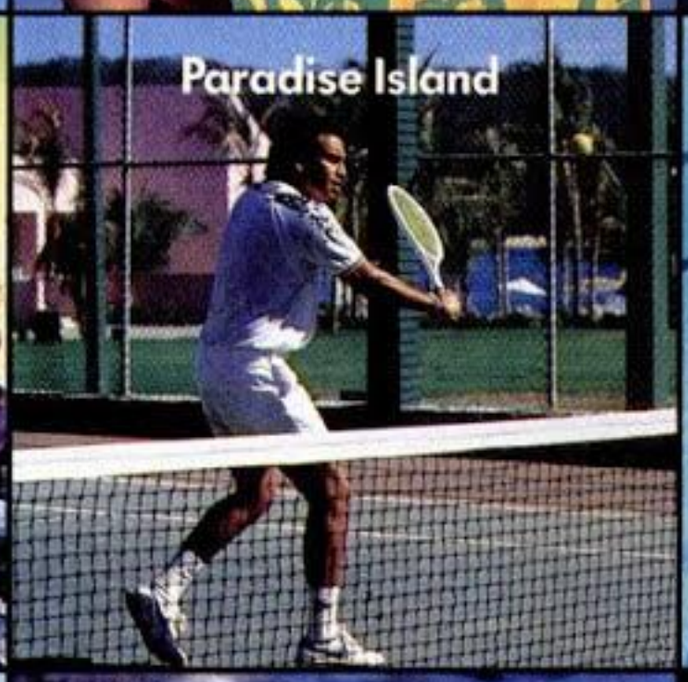


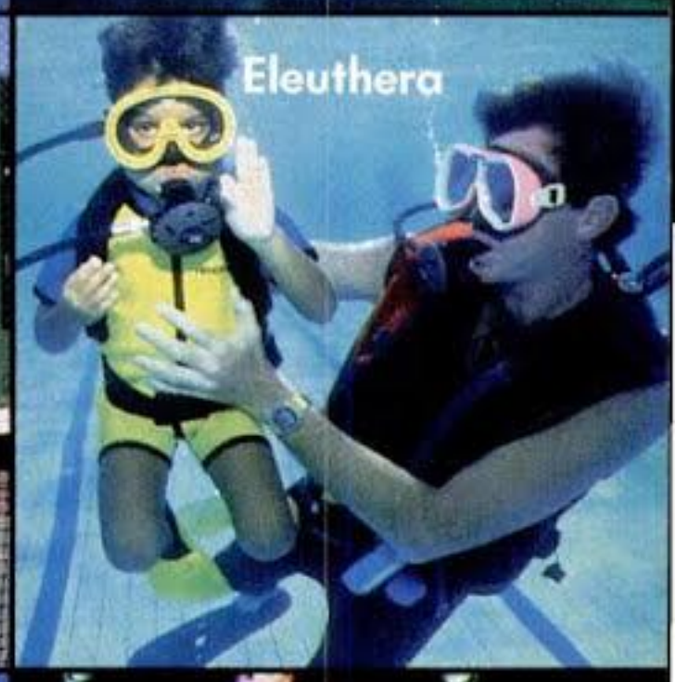


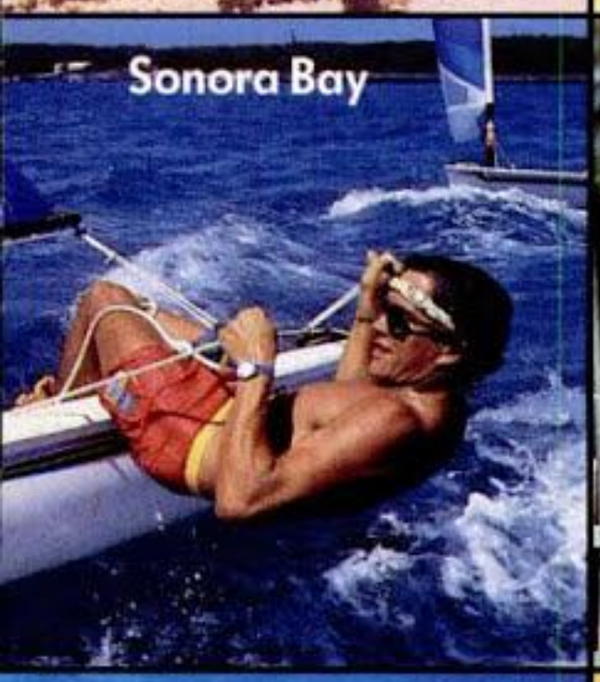


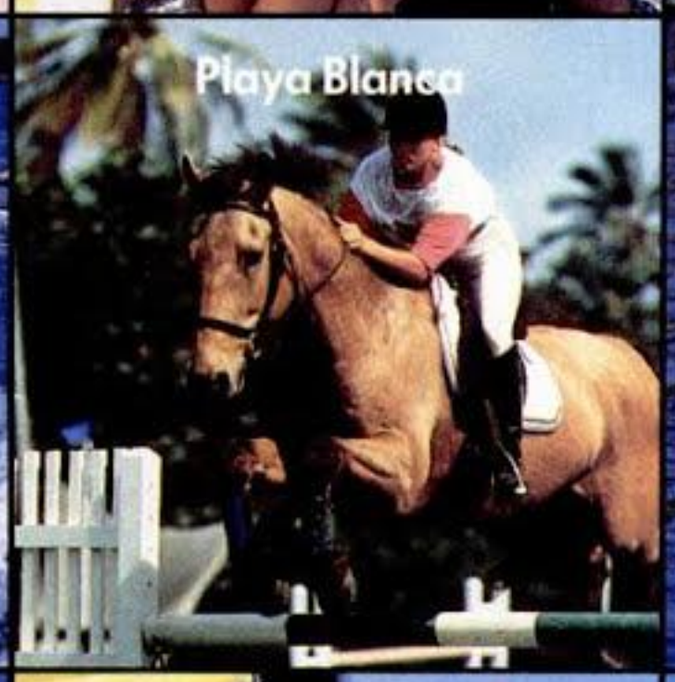


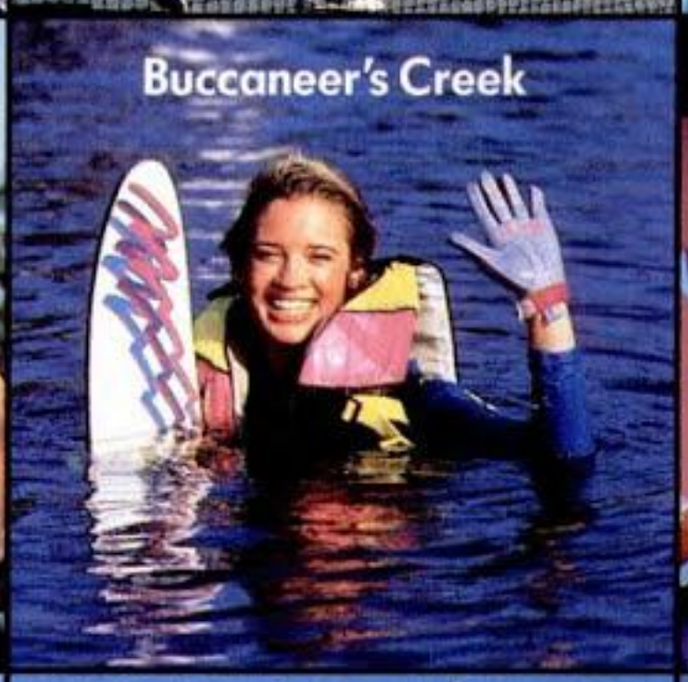


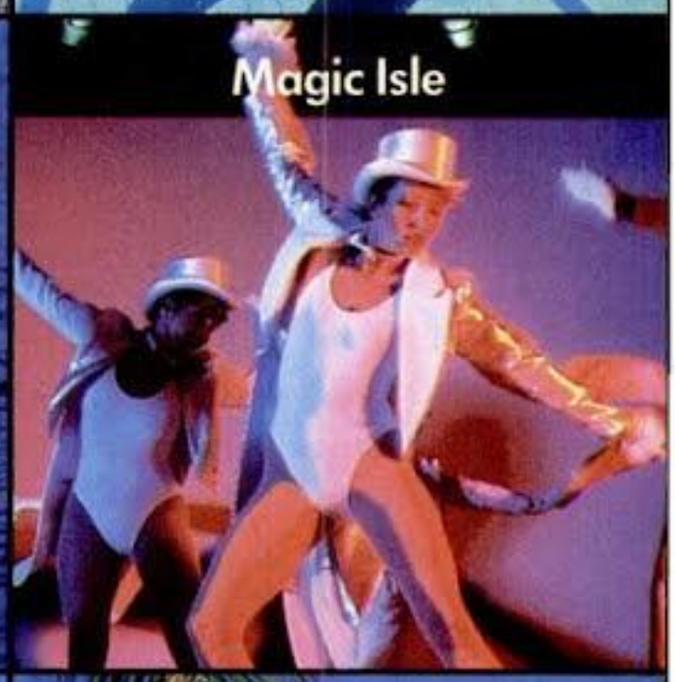


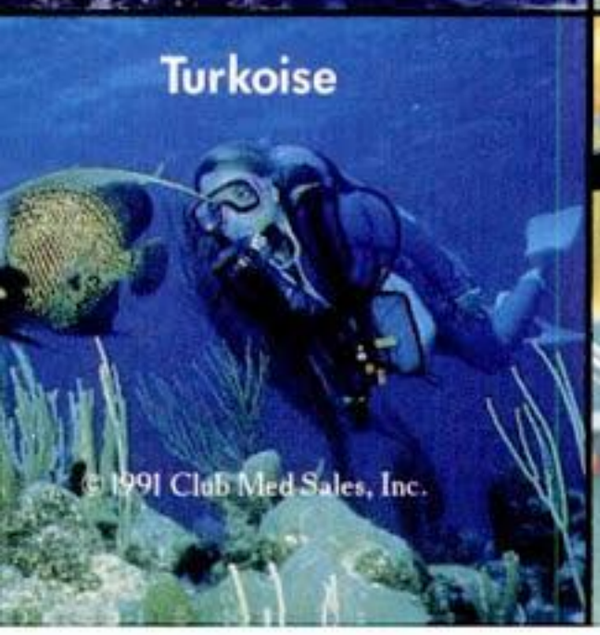




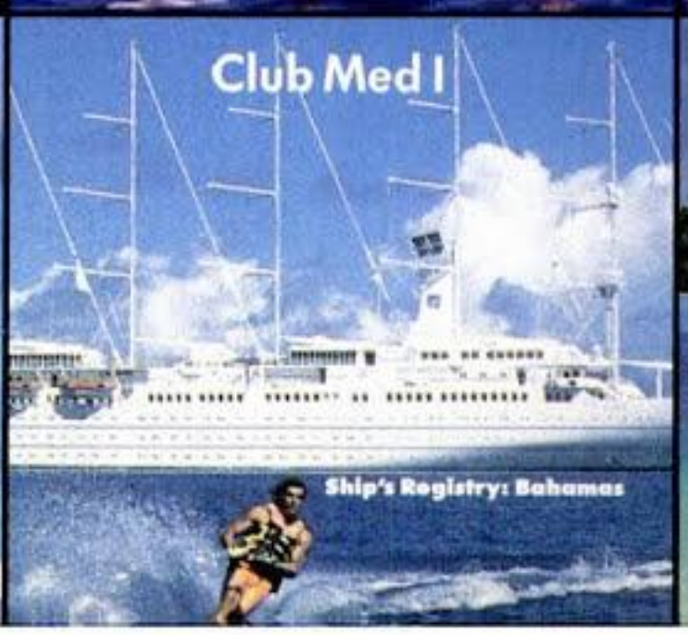


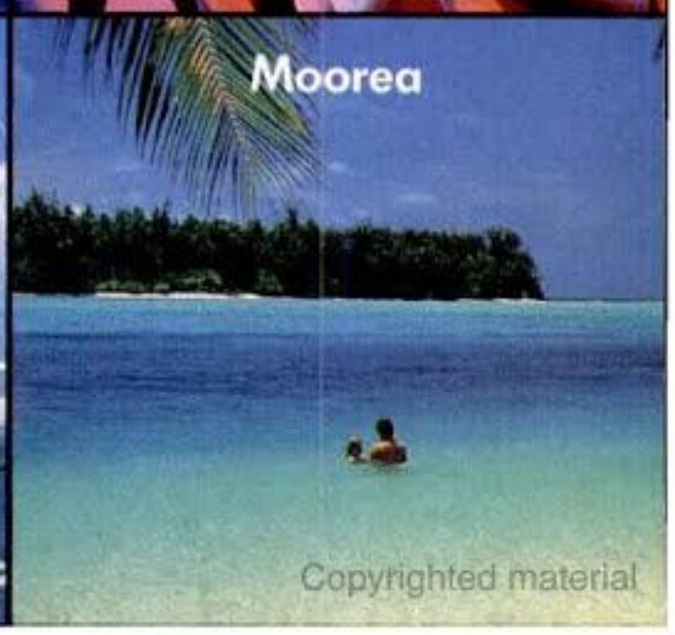












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And one of...their agents was over at the house for a while, too....It was Ron's agent. I think his name was Steve....He was there for, like, the barbecue part, and the dinner, and the, um—we watched a...porn videotape.

Did he participate in anything? Did Steve?...

No.

Did you guys kind of pair off?...

I guess you could say that....Now we're getting to the embarrassing part....

You tell me what happened first....

I was, like, really connecting with Dave there at the ballpark, right?...If there was any kind of pair[ing] off, it was gonna be, like, me and Dave, and [A] and whoever. And it turned out to be Ron. Ron came over ...and before the four of us were hanging out, I was skinny-dipping and having sex with Dave in the swimming pool... and the Jacuzzi....

That was, like, my little seduction thing with my favorite baseball player....[Then] after we had watched this porn video...I decided I wanted to be with Ron too.... ▶

Datebook Enchanting and Alarming Events Upcoming

July

4 Thirtieth annual Twelve Mile 500 Riding Lawnmower Race. Actually a 15-mile race held in the tiny town of Twelve Mile, Indiana (so named because it is 12 miles from the larger town of Logansport). Following last year's race, a newspaper explained that the *500* is in the name because this race is "*patterned* after the Indy 500."

11 Miss Arkansas finals. Bill Clinton spokesperson Richard Martin told SPY that the candidate will *not* appear as a judge. When asked why, Martin responded, "I have no opinion on the Miss Arkansas contest, nor does the campaign."



13–16 Democratic National Convention; Madison Square Garden.

14 Baseball All-Star Game; San Diego. Democratic Convention delegates who watch highlights find themselves eerily familiar with the showy exhibition game, which features big-name players and has no connection with advancing to the World Series.

August

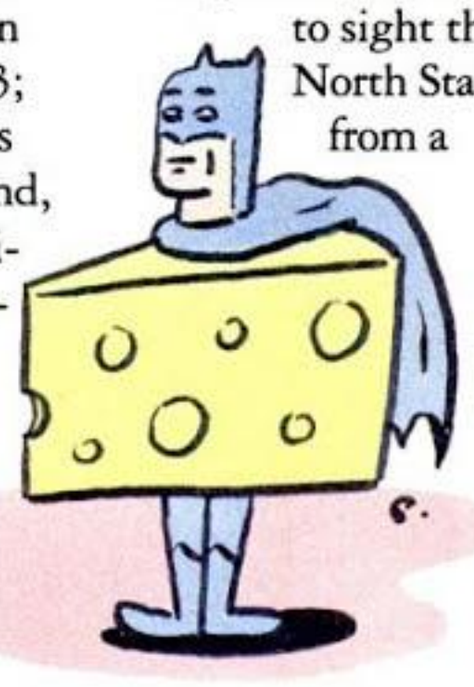
1 The night of her nineteenth birthday, Tempestt Bledsoe has a prophetic nightmare featuring Dana Plato.

16 Menachem Begin born in Poland, 1913; Shimon Peres born in Poland, 1923. Coincidence—or *international Zionist conspiracy?*

19–22 American Cheese Society's conference in Madison, Wisconsin, featuring the panel discussion "25 Ways to Sell More Cheese." A spokeswoman told SPY, "The 25 ways are not written up yet as a list. It's just a catchy title, obviously."

23 *Chicago Sun-Times* Triathlon. Horrified spectators plead with officials to cancel the event upon learning that Roger Ebert intends to participate.

30 Final day of "1492: Two Worlds of Science"; the New York Hall of Science, Flushing Meadows. According to the museum, "[One] can learn how rocking seas can throw a ship off by trying to sight the North Star from a moving platform." Spend a sweltering day getting seasick in Queens—a perfect capper to a perfect summer. ◗



Illustrations by Phil Marden

The Latest Line Odds Against Becoming a Vice-Presidential Candidate

Jerry Brown	1,000:1
Pennsylvania governor Bob Casey	900:1
Shamu the Killer Whale	800:1
Patrick Buchanan	700:1
Robert Bly	85:1
Jesse Jackson	70:1
Ralph Nader	40:1
Jeane Kirkpatrick	17:1
Harris Wofford	15:1
Warren Rudman	10:1
Colin Powell	9:1
Norman Schwarzkopf	7:1
Bob Kerrey	6:1
Mario Cuomo	5:1
Lee Hamilton	3:1
Bill Bradley	2:1
Dan Quayle	1:3

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THE TWISTED TALE OF UNTAMED TEENS AND THEIR SAVAGE THIRST FOR "THE ONE WITH BITE"...



Barq's® ROOT BEER RAMPAGE

SEE!



SEE! Two lust-filled boys, fighting over the same... can of BARQ'S!



SEE! BARQ'S Root Beer consumed at 120 miles per hour!



SEE! The dizzying amount of root beer in a BARQ'S 2-liter bottle!



ROOT BEER-CRAZED KIDS GETTING THEIR KICKS FROM A CAN! ...OF BARQ'S®!



FROM THE PEOPLE WHO BROUGHT YOU:

"Barq's® DIET ROOT BEER RIOT"

EXPERIENCE BITE-O-RAMA™

EVERY TIME YOU DRINK A

BARQ'S ROOT BEER

THE ONE WITH BITE.

They lived fast —and drank BARQ'S®!

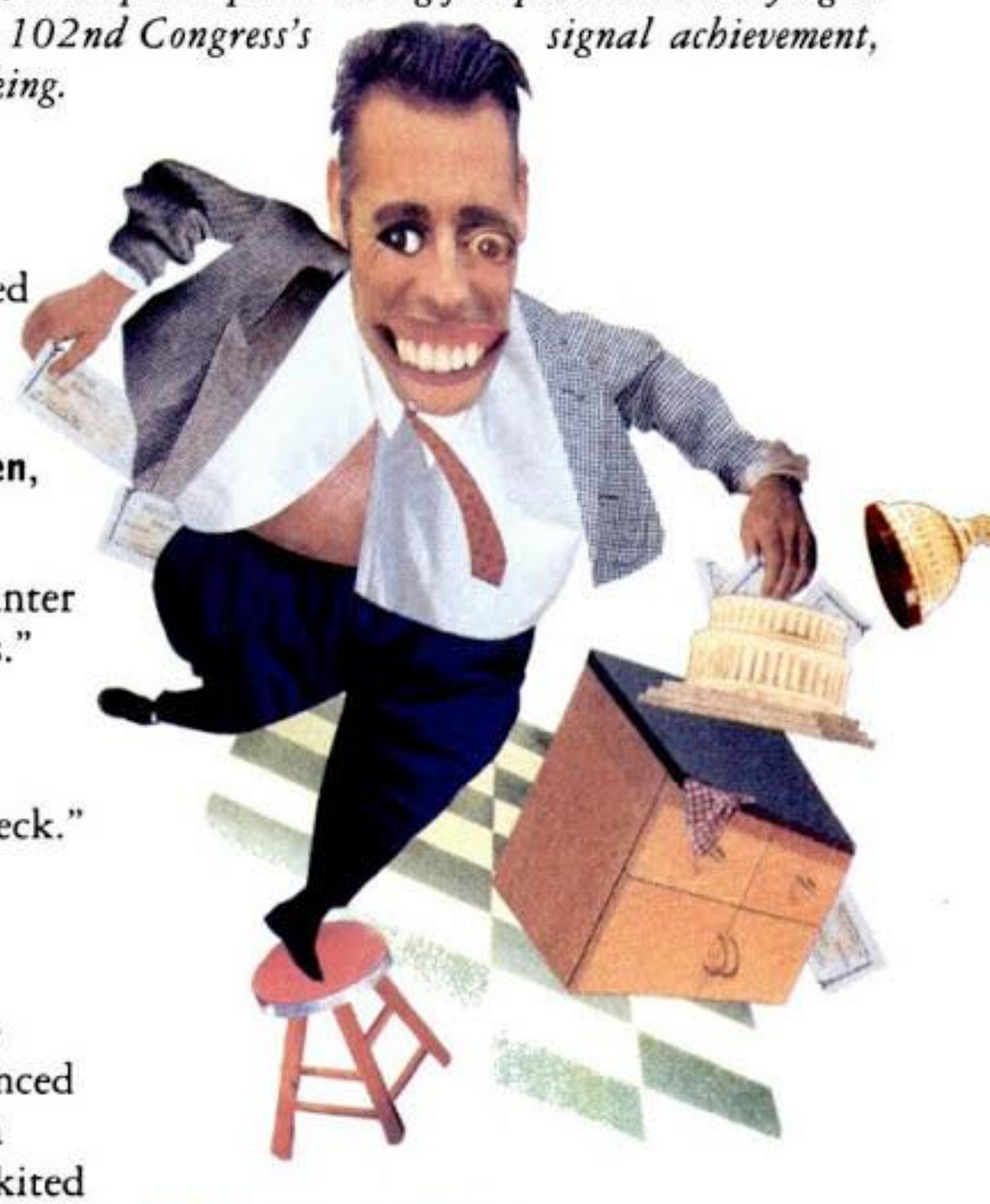
Boilerplate material

Just kind of give me the scenario again....
I had fooled around with Dave in the swimming pool [and] the Jacuzzi...and I fooled around with Dave again while [the others] went out for beer....Then they came back...and we had dessert, and they put in this movie, and we're all hanging around, eating dessert, watching this movie...and Ron was making all these little comments like he was getting robbed [*sic*] by this movie....And, and, and, um, so I was, like, well, you know, "This is my big chance."
Sure....
You know, I took it for what it was.
A one-day fantasy—
Yeah! I mean, when we left that night, I was, like, screaming in the car, saying, "Pinch me, I know I'm dreaming!"...
Okay, so you went...with Ron....
I mean, I felt like a total slut....By the time Ron... and I...were finishing having sex, um, Dave and [A] were watching us, um, laughing, saying..."Hey, encore, encore!"...Then by the time we got dressed... Ron pointed to the bedroom...and said, "Check it out," and...we were just watching them...on the bed having sex....

By the way, in an interview with police, A said, "I would like to add that my sex with Dave was incredibly normal. Okay? Nothing out of the usual. Just very normal sex."

Deadbeats! Use the Excuses the *Pros* Use!

Like the Constitutional Convention of 1787, the congressional check-kiting scandal of 1992 was one of those moments in history when a group of powerful people were challenged by events to articulate a new paradigm. In 1787 the participants were gifted political theorists responsible for inventing a government; in 1992 the participants were gifted prevaricators trying to weasel out of trouble. The result: the 102nd Congress's signal achievement, this state-of-the-art guide to excuse-making.



I. Deny, Deny, Deny

"I never bounced a check."
—**George Miller**, D-Calif. (99 bounced checks)

"There was never a bounced check."
—former representative **Doug Walgren**, D-Pa. (858)

"Nobody has ever had a Duncan Hunter check returned for insufficient funds."
—**Duncan Hunter**, R-Calif. (399)

"I am convinced that I have never written a bad check, not one bad check."
—**Joseph Early**, D-Mass. (140)

II. Attack!

"It is libelous for any news media to state that Congressman Young 'bounced checks,' wrote 'NSF' checks, wrote a 'bad check,' wrote 'bum checks' or 'kited checks.'"—Clifford Groh, attorney for **Don Young**, R-Alaska (57)

"This whole thing is a personal matter."
—**Charles Hayes**, D-Ill. (716)

"[This] is really not the public's business."—**Bill Alexander**, D-Ark. (499)

"I may have to go to court."
—**Charles Rangel**, D-N.Y. (64)

III. Make It a Semantic Problem

"This wasn't a bank, it's a 'financial cooperative.'"
—**Charles Wilson**, D-Tex. (81)

"[It] was never a bank....It's a payroll office."—**Thomas Foley**, D-Wash. (2)

"This was a bank that was not really a bank."—**David Bonior**, D-Mich. (76)

"I've never had a bounced check. I did have overdrafts."
—**Edward Feighan**, D-Ohio (397)

IV. Blame the Media

"I am being tried in the media."
—**Robert Mrazek**, D-N.Y. (920)

"Because of very poor reporting...there's an impression that those were bounced checks."—**Thomas Foley**

"The Associated Press and Congress have slandered me nationwide...worldwide."
—former representative **Tommy Robinson**, R-Ark. (996)

V. Blame the Staff

"Out of town [one week when seven overdrafts occurred]."
—**John Dingell**, D-Mich. (48)

"On vacation."
—**Les AuCoin**, D-Oreg. (83)

"I was the victim [because a receptionist allegedly stole $28,000 from the account]."
—**Edolphus Towns**, D-N.Y. (408)

Illustration by Aletha Reppel

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VI. Blame the Wife

"She assumed there would be money to cover it."
—**Lawrence Smith**, D-Fla. (161)

"Perhaps she was hurried. Perhaps Jamey, then just a few weeks old, began crying. Whatever the reason, Rebecca apparently mistook a *2* for a *9*." —**Jim Bacchus**, D-Fla. (3)

"[This] was the worst period of my financial life [due to a] painful separation and divorce."
—**Robert Davis**, R-Mich. (878)

VII. Argue That It Could Have Been Worse

"It's not like molesting young girls or young boys…or peddling drugs." —**Charles Wilson**

VIII. Acknowledge Embarrassment

"I'm embarrassed."
—**Mary Rose Oakar**, D-Ohio (213)

"I am embarrassed."
—**Mary Rose Oakar**, D-Ohio (213)

"This is an embarrassment to me."—former representative **Edward Madigan**, R-Ill. (49)

"I am embarrassed and humbled."
—**Jim Cooper**, D-Tenn. (7)

"I'm stunned and embarrassed."
—**Mickey Edwards**, R-Okla. (386)

"I'm shocked [and] embarrassed."
—**Charles Stenholm**, D-Tex. (86)

"This is the biggest embarrassment of my life."
—**Barbara Boxer**, D-Calif. (143)

IX. Pathetically Abase Yourself

"I'm a dope, not a crook."
—**Susan Molinari**, R-N.Y. (5)

"I have basically been broke for the last six years."
—**Bill Alexander**, D-Ark. (487)

"I was not a paragon of virtue."
—**Thomas Downey**, D-N.Y. (151)

"Next to the sudden death of my mother—who was a saint—this is the most painful period of my life."
—**Bill Goodling**, R-Pa. (430)

—Chip Rowe

It's a Wonderful Town!



Cop watching detectives fingerprint dead robbery-and-murder suspect.

Photograph by Andrew Savulich

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Separated at Birth?



Steve Martin...



and Patrick Stewart?



Studs Terkel...



and Quentin Crisp?



60 Minutes pit bull Mike Wallace...



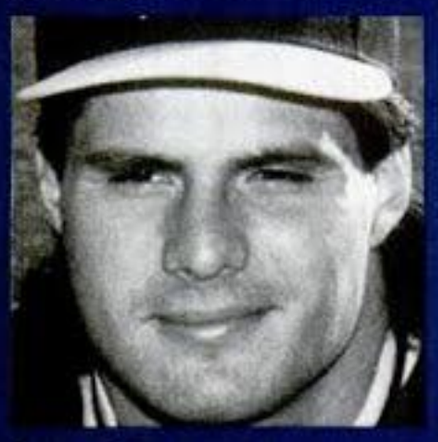
and Robert Rauschenberg?



60 Minutes pussycat Morley Safer...



and Huey Long?



Jose Canseco...



and Max Baer Jr.?

Women in Love

SPY's Pocket Guide to the Best-sellers



I. Ivana Trump, Woman of Letters

In her novel, *For Love Alone*, Ivana Trump tells the story of Katrinka Graham, a plucky Czech skier who emigrates to America and marries the rich and powerful Adam Graham. A roman à clef? *No way*—Katrinka is beautiful without benefit of plastic surgery, and Adam is not a bullying blowhard. Here's how Ivana captures Katrinka's thoughts at certain dramatic moments:

•On skiing over the Czech border to freedom: "Ayiiiiiii!"

•When consoling a friend on her troublesome love life: "Ay yi yi."

•On meeting the long-lost son she gave up at birth: "Ay yi yi yi."

•When finally divorced from Adam: "Ay yi yi yi."

•On hearing her friend is deserting her husband: "Ay yi yi yi."

•When she is offered a rich chocolate dessert: "Ay yi yi yi."

—Brian Clark

II. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, We Hardly Knew Ye

Before Gloria Steinem's *Revolution from Within: A Book of Self-Esteem* became a best-seller earlier this year, she assured the public that *her* self-help book would be far more substantial and down-to-earth than the New Age blather already clogging shopping-mall checkout racks. Here's an accounting of some of the terms Steinem uses in her book:



Inner child (mentioned 24 times); *inner voice* (8); *inner self* (5); *wild child*, *child self* and *inner world* (3); *inner void* and *inner reality* (2); *inner compass* and *inner wholeness* (1).

Then there's Steinem's *self*ishness: *self-esteem* (mentioned a staggering 172 times); *future self* (38); *true self* (20); *false self* (7); *present self* (6); *self-love* (4); *self-alienation*, *self-contentedness* and *unique self* (3); *self-wisdom*, *self-healing*, *self-rescue* and *self-denigration* (2); *the astronomy of the self*, *universal self*, *past self*, *past and forgotten self*, *older self*, *back-of-the-mind self*, *front-of-the-mind self*, *teenage self*, *internal worthless self*, *external sexually valuable self*, *inflated self*, *self-empowerment*, *self-belief*, *self-completion*, *best and future self*, *future and optimal self* and *future, stronger self* (1).

Not included above are *self-indulgent* (3 appearances) and *self-absorbed* (just 1).

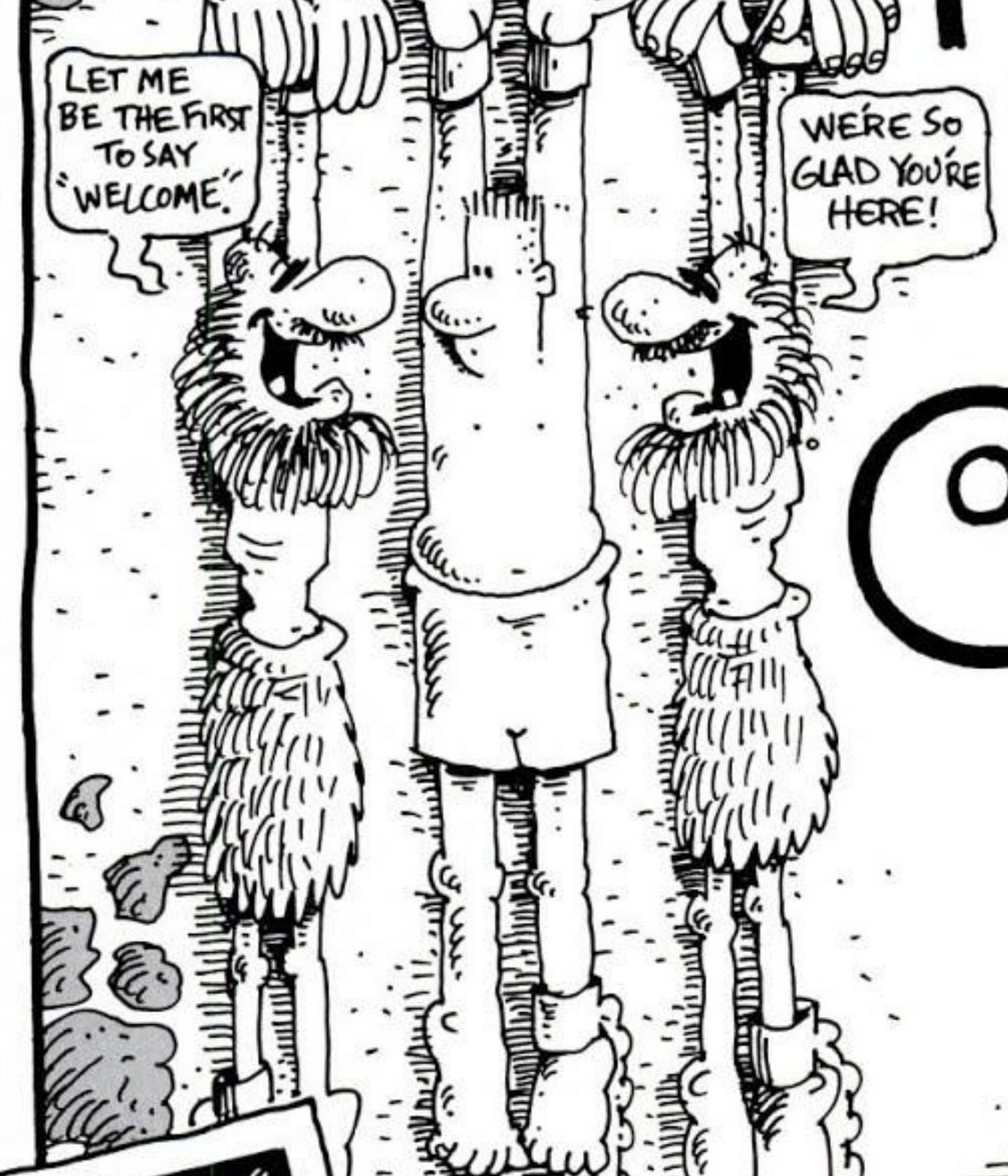
—Susan Mitchell

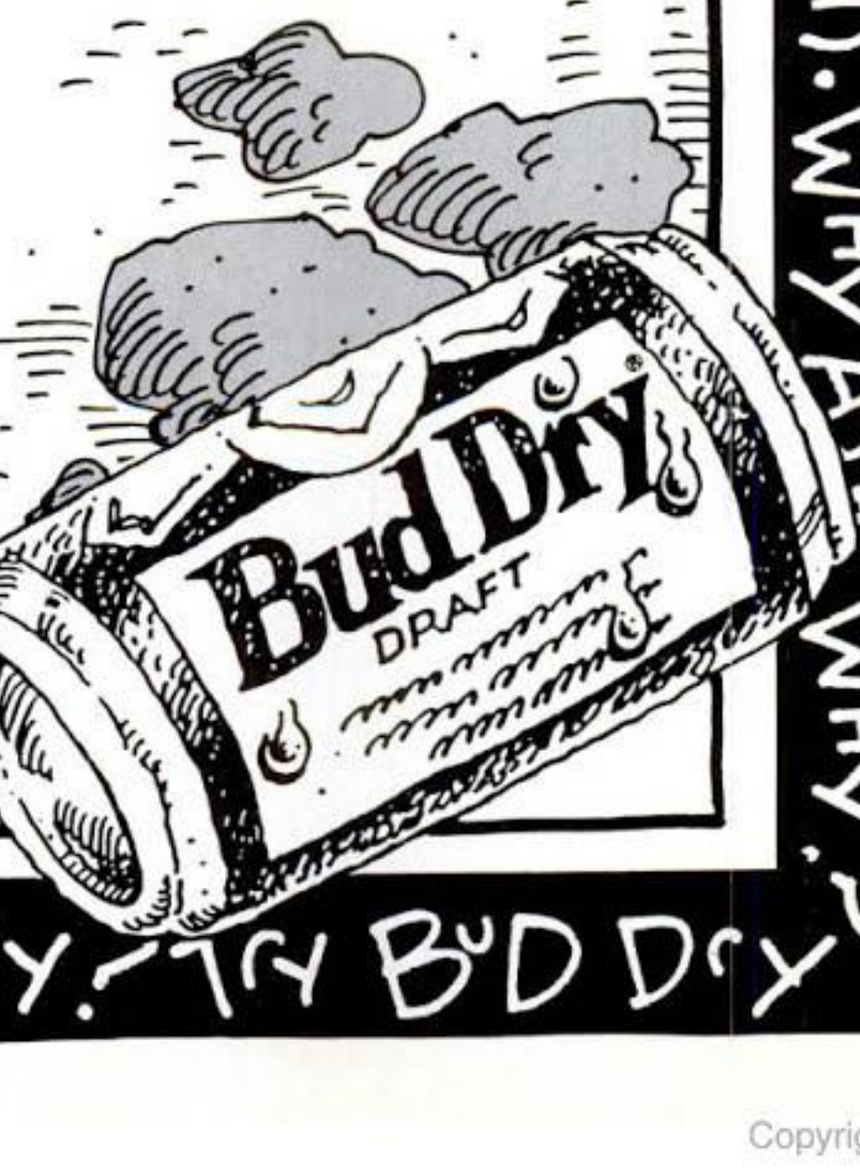
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WHY DOES MISERY LOVE COMPANY?





For a full-color 20"x28" version of this ad (yes, it is suitable for framing) send $4.00 check or money order to:
"Misery Loves Company" Poster Offer
P.O. Box 93292
Atlanta, GA 30377-0292
or call 1-800-833-4688 and charge it on your MasterCard or Visa. This offer valid only for continental U.S., F.P.O. and A.P.O. while supplies last. Please allow 6-8 weeks for delivery. Offer expires December 31, 1993. Must be 21 years old.

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VOICES AND VISIONS



"Every exit you go to there's a different musical neighborhood. Every cut is like another exit. There is a thread there that ties all of this music together, and I think that is the quality of the tunes, the musicians, and the producers. It just comes out to make a total statement." – *Grover Washington, Jr.*

"I feel the album "Simply Stated" is an acknowledgment of the tradition of jazz in its most basic state. The melodies from guys like Miles or Wayne Shorter were simple and direct . . . yet they were also poignant, thoughtful, and even profound. That's what I went for." – *Terence Blanchard*





"I'm a storyteller singing songs that transcend race and culture and that personally move me. They give each listener a chance to connect to his or her own humanity. I chose to sing such classics as "Skylark," "Stella By Starlight," and others because of their timelessness." – *Nnenna Freelon*



"I play jazz because there are certain feelings I have in my life that I can't express in mere words. We talk about that all the time in the band. I think what we're supposed to do is look inside ourselves and trust ourselves enough to use the influences from our life." – *Bobby Watson*



COLUMBIA JAZZ

WHERE TRADITION MEETS TOMORROW.



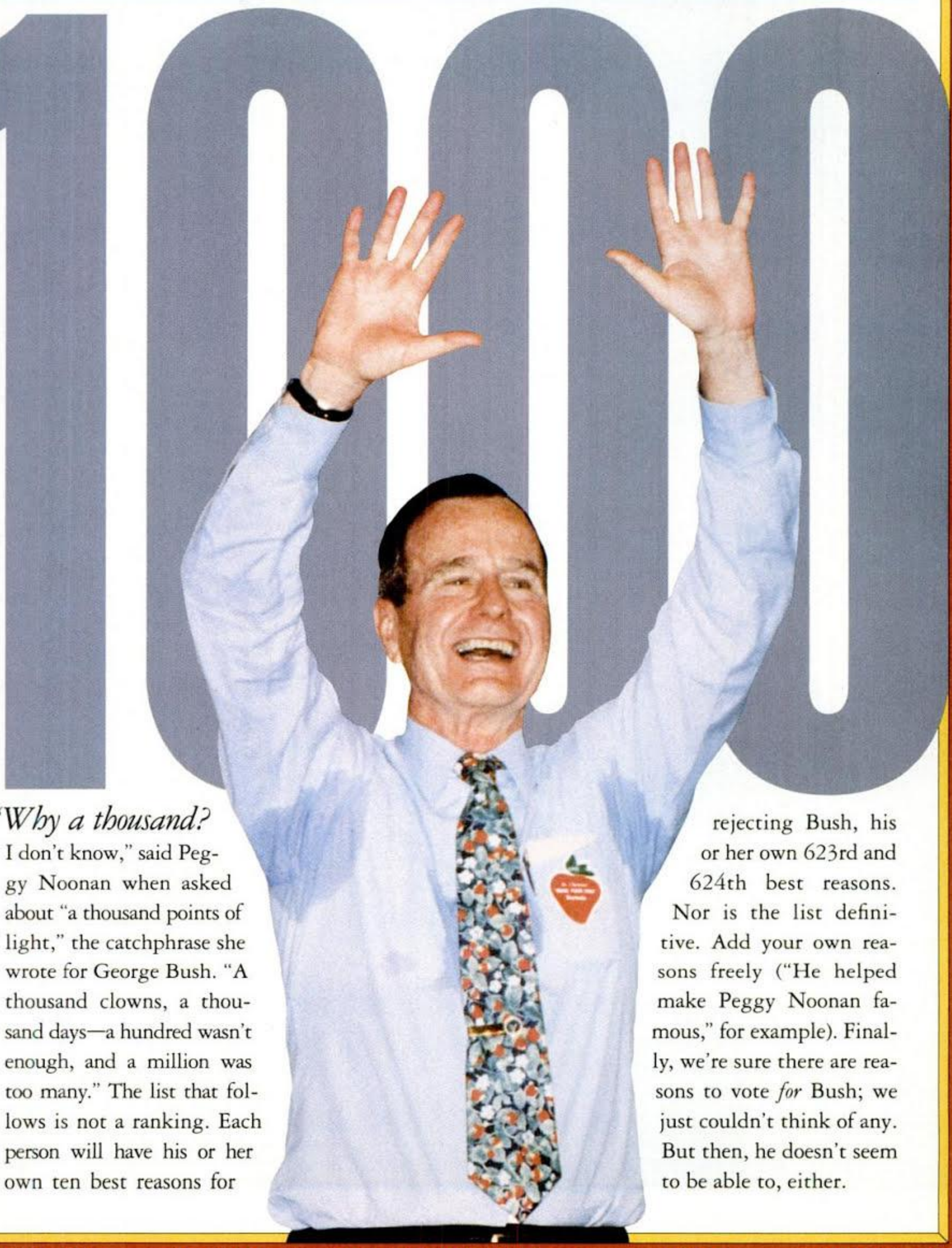
COLUMBIA

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SPY

L.A.! ❖ ADULTERY! ❖ LIES! ❖ BROCCOLI! ❖ RACISM! ❖ WAR CRIMES! ❖ CHINA! ❖ SHAMELESSNESS! ❖ SPINELESSNESS! ❖ ECONOMIC DECLINE! ❖ THE JFK ASSASSINATION! ❖ DOO-DOO! ❖ POOR PEOPLE! ❖ SEX! ❖ BILLIONS FOR SADDAM! ❖ CARIBOU! ❖ VIC DAMONE! ❖ CREEPY BLOOD RELATIONS! ❖ LITHUANIA! ❖ NERVE GAS! ❖ CAMPAIGN SLEAZE! ❖ PILL POPPING! ❖ SYNTAX!

1000 Reasons Not to Vote for George Bush



"Why a thousand? I don't know," said Peggy Noonan when asked about "a thousand points of light," the catchphrase she wrote for George Bush. "A thousand clowns, a thousand days—a hundred wasn't enough, and a million was too many." The list that follows is not a ranking. Each person will have his or her own ten best reasons for rejecting Bush, his or her own 623rd and 624th best reasons. Nor is the list definitive. Add your own reasons freely ("He helped make Peggy Noonan famous," for example). Finally, we're sure there are reasons to vote *for* Bush; we just couldn't think of any. But then, he doesn't seem to be able to, either.

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No!

There is, in the annals of investigative journalism, one hot story that even the most ferocious reporters barely touch. It isn't the October Surprise or any of its bastard offspring, which hordes of writers have set out to prove or disprove. Nor, of course, is it the JFK-assassination conspiracy. Reporters eagerly gnaw away at those old chestnuts, ferreting out hotel bills, prying loose the files of the Secret Service, FBI, CIA, Customs Service, Coast Guard and La Cosa Nostra, sifting the testimony of the living, the dead and the deranged. The charges may be treason, or murder, and no one blinks if those so indicted include a sitting president of the United States.

What American journalists seem uncomfortable investigating is screwing around—by a *Republican* president or candidate, at least—especially if the investigation might require more than a supercilious glance at a "supermarket tabloid." This year, while a parachute press corps has scoured Little Rock for any hint of Democratic scandal, the issue that remains too hot to handle is whether Poppy has been faithful to Bar.



IT'S NOT NICE TO LOOK INTO THE PRESIDENT'S LOVE LIFE—THAT'S WHY GEORGE BUSH HAS BEEN SPARED THE SCRUTINY THAT HOBBLED GARY HART AND BILL CLINTON. *UNTIL NOW.* OUR INVESTIGATION REVEALS THAT IN ADDITION TO THE ORIGINAL JENNIFER, OTHER WOMEN HAVE BEEN PERSUASIVELY LINKED WITH BUSH. WE CHECKED OUT ALL THE PLAUSIBLE GIRLFRIENDS—AND INTERVIEWED ONE. PLUS: UNPLEASANT DETAILS ABOUT BUSH'S ALL-AROUND BACHELOR-PARTY PIGGISHNESS!

He Cheats On His Wife

It seems not. But as SPY discovered during its own investigation, tracing Bush's extramarital sexual history is not easy. Almost every interview, including dozens with journalists, political consul-

by Joe Conason

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Three of the women most frequently mentioned as Bush's mistresses hold high government positions—positions with salaries that make Gennifer Flowers's $17,000 a year seem like lunch money

tants, businesspeople and other sources in Washington and around the country, turned up a new, tantalizing lead. Most were no more than unconfirmable gossip. And as we followed up the most promising ones, we learned how difficult it is to prove the existence of alleged girlfriends—even when you're certain you've found and interviewed a former mistress whose relationship with Bush has up until now been a secret to all but a few of her friends.

Bush's adultery is not exactly a new story, though neither is JFK or the October Surprise. Whispers about the president's extramarital dalliances, real and merely alleged, date back at least as far as his first campaign for the presidency, in 1980. From time to time the "problem" is mentioned, always only glancingly, in such publications as *Newsweek* and *The New York Times* as well as by such distinguished commentators as Sam Donaldson and John McLaughlin.

Indeed, the name of one supposed paramour has been bandied about so freely over the last four years that almost every media-wise American knows who is meant by the phrase *the other Jennifer*. During a seminar at the University of Minnesota in February, R. W. Apple, chief Washington reporter of *The New York Times*, blurted out the other Jennifer's full name. Everyone watching C-SPAN a couple of weeks later heard him say it. "The point that I made by mentioning the name," he said, "is that it is not a name that is unknown in any newsroom in Washington, any political salon in Washington, any congressional office. It is known everywhere, and it is not used." And there is certainly more consensus on the matter among leading reporters and editors than any of them admits in print. "Do you know any reporters who *don't* think it's true?" snaps one prominent Washington writer.

In other words, journalists talk about the president's private life a lot, even though they almost never write about it. The reason is that most of what they know is third- or fourth- or fifth-hand gossip, however accurate. The gossip is about Bush's longtime aide Jennifer Fitzgerald, and they've expended surprisingly little energy trying to confirm it.

But the media deflowering of "Gennifer with a *G*," cabaret singer, former Arkansas state employee and self-proclaimed (and, for snitching about it, handsomely paid) Bill Clinton sex partner, again poses the problem that agitated the press during the 1988 election: If stories about womanizing could ruin Gary Hart and cripple Clinton (not to mention Senator Chuck Robb), then why isn't anybody looking into the stories about George Bush?

This year the Democrats seem unlikely to let the matter drop the way they did four years ago. Party officials and consultants have been softly crying for months now that Bush's marital difficulties ought to be given equal time. The Republican response is a double game. In public, the president nervously warns his own campaign against delving into "the sleaze." In private, his political aides snicker about the so-called independent committees that will do the dirty work, just as they did in 1988 with the Willie Horton ad. In fact, the same operatives behind the notorious Horton spot have already set up a new, pseudo-autonomous Presidential Victory Committee, aiming to spend $10 million for media attacks on Clinton's character.

But heavy hints from the Democrats will avail them nothing unless the media establishment finally decides that Bush's "character" is also fair game. So far, despite the charged atmosphere created by the Flowers affair, there are few signs of real interest in the president's private affairs. "It's a story that everybody wishes someone else would do first," sighs one prominent pundit and media critic.

Behind this reluctance could be widespread distaste for a sexual inquisition. Or maybe it's the more high-minded desire to fix public attention on truly significant issues. Or is it simply a fear of committing lèse-majesté by turning a harsh light on our wholesome first family? No doubt it's some combination of all three, plus a measure of pure laziness. There is also inevitable ethical ambiguity whenever journalists examine a public figure's private affairs. It means asking embarrassing questions and urging the betrayal of intimate confidences. Finally, it means deciding between naming the woman involved—and thus humiliating her—or diminishing the credibility of the story by protecting her identity.

Reporting a politician's peccadilloes is at best a sticky task that is far more easily evaded than done well. Regarding Bush, the respectable press has set itself a standard of proof so high—the "smoking bimbo"—that the story literally can't be done unless an ex-girlfriend steps forward to talk on the record. But what raises the Bush adultery story above the well of tabloid gossip is the fact that three of the women most frequently mentioned as Bush's mistresses hold high government positions—positions with salaries that make Gennifer Flowers's $17,000 a year look like lunch money.

When pressed, senior journalists tend to insist that exhaustive probes have been undertaken and come up dry. Word that *The Washington Post* was preparing to expose a Bush affair sent the stock market into a 43-point plunge two weeks before the 1988 election. But as it turned out, the long series on Bush written by Walter Pincus and Bob Woodward carried not even a mention of extramaritial affairs. Although he is smirkily referred to as "*the* Jennifer expert" by Washington colleagues, Pincus has said repeatedly that

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he and Woodward found no reason to ask Bush about adultery. End of story.

More recently, the matter was aired for an uncomfortable moment on *The McLaughlin Group* in late March. It may have been the only time in the show's decade of gabble that Republican Fred Barnes and liberal Jack Germond have agreed so firmly. "The fact is," declared Barnes, "there have been two rumors about George Bush having affairs. The press has looked into those extensively and found nothing."

"The trail was cold," retorted *Newsweek*'s Eleanor Clift, and she was cut off by a chorus of "No, no, no!" from Barnes and Germond. Then Germond testily reminded Clift that the Washington papers had pursued "a very hot rumor, and it had not one shred of substance to support it.

"Bush," he pronounced with finality, "has taken a real rap on this thing. There's never been a hint of evidence to this." Germond told SPY that he was talking about rumors of two specific alleged Bush mistresses. One, of course, was the original Jennifer, while the other was the widow of a friend of Bush's. More than a decade ago, Germond was working for *The Washington Star*, where, he says, "we had some very good investigative reporters whom we put on this, and they came up empty. I think it's a lot of bullshit." His emphatic opinion relies upon a supposed investigative effort undertaken by a mediocre, Republican-oriented newspaper that went out of business in 1981. But aside from Pincus and Woodward, has anyone from the mainstream press actually dusted off the files in the past decade—or, more particularly, in the last four or five, post-Hart years?

Not with any enthusiasm, if at all. Evan Thomas, the Washington-bureau chief of *Newsweek*, disagrees with Germond's exoneration, and he admits forthrightly that his own magazine has never really tried to look into the story. "It's very hard to do," he says. "How do you do it without someone stepping forward like Gennifer Flowers?" A top network journalist, although privy to a recent off-the-record acknowledgment from one of the president's top appointees ("*Everybody* knows," the Bush man told

George's Girls



Jennifer Fitzgerald outside her D.C. condo, 1992; the guy-to-guy correspondence, 1961; family friend Jane Morgan on *The Ed Sullivan Show*, 1967 .



ZAPATA OFF-SHORE COMPANY
HOUSTON 6, TEXAS

July 3, 1961

Dear Ted,

I am planning a new party. This one is to be even a more howling success than the last. The road company of "Come Blow Your Horn" is opening in Muleshoe, Texas next week and I wonder if you could fly down for the evening. There is an attractive girl out there I would like you to meet. She may be accompanied by an Austrian ski instructor but I think we can probably flush him at the local dance hall. This will only set you back several hundred dollars and I think it might prove interesting.

Bar and I don't plan to be in the East until next fall, perhaps we can get together then. The four little kids are going up to visit Mother in Greenwich in August. Not much else to report. My phone number is Sunset 22679 in case you want it. I have had to make it unlisted since Jane Morgan keeps calling me all the time.

Best regards,

George W. Bush

Congressman T. L. Ashley
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

P.S. I am sorry our party was such a flop but don't lose faith in me. Everybody has several lousy ideas before getting a good one.

the network guy), makes the same excuse. So does a top editor at *The New York Times*. "All you've got is sordid gossipy bits," says the *Times*man, "and not a complaining witness." He knows whereof he speaks. SPY had learned elsewhere that his own wife says she was once, during a previous marriage, the object of unwanted attentions from Bush. Would she talk? "I'm sure she'd have no interest," her husband says, "in talking about spongy business that happened years ago."

And why not? Well, as the same *Times*man remarked more generally, it's really "a question of social class." The women who have been linked with Bush, whether as alleged mistresses or as victims of unwanted propositions, are not the kind who'd sell their stories to the *Star*. They don't need the money, or they don't want the publicity.

The intensity of the taboo among editors and reporters was illustrated quite starkly when Kitty Kelley's biography of Nancy Reagan was published amid nationwide uproar last year. The *Times* front-paged her anonymously sourced account of Nancy's alleged White House trysts with Frank Sinatra, and the rest of the press followed, dishing one tidbit after another from Kelley's thick archive.

Just about everything that mattered, and much that didn't, was quoted somewhere—except for one wholly ignored little anecdote on page 507. "To certain friends," Kelley wrote, "Nancy had peddled the story of 'George and his girlfriend' that had been told to her about the evening of March 18, 1981," when a few of her closest friends were dining at the Lion d'Or restaurant in Washington.

Among the five at table were William French Smith, then the attorney general, and Secretary of State Alexander Haig. According to one of the guests, dinner was interrupted by a sudden commotion, as Haig and Smith's security team began "jabbering into their walkie-talkies, and then whispered to Haig and Smith, who both jumped up and left the restaurant. The two men returned about forty-five minutes later, laughing their heads off. They said they had had to bail out George Bush, who'd been in a traffic accident with his girlfriend. Bush had not wanted the incident to appear on the D.C. police blotter, so he had his security men contact Haig and Smith. They took care of things for him, and then came back to dinner."

"That was something nobody mentioned," Kitty Kelley says now. "I don't know why. That one incident is

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Was Jennifer Fitzgerald ever punished for smuggling two fur coats? According to State Department sources, the recommended sanction of 15 days' suspension without pay was never carried out.

cold—you've got a date in the book. And I interviewed people who were in that dinner party."

Smith is now dead, and while Kelley won't say whether Haig talked, the endnotes for the relevant chapter mention an interview with a close friend of Nancy Reagan's. "The book was thoroughly vetted by the publisher's lawyers," Kelley told SPY. "I have that story on tape, and yes, I had to give up the source's name to the lawyers."

Such episodes are consistent with Bush's personality when he is off the record and outside his wife's presence. In those private moments, he betrays himself as the Yale jock who never grew up, the kind of guy who can't help asking the younger guys, "Didja get any last night?" As one male bureau chief in Washington says, it's rather obvious that "Bush likes checking out girls." Evidently to this end, he recruited one nubile wire-service reporter to jog and swim with him. In humor, as in leisure, his taste veers toward the macho-infantile. "How do you titillate an ocelot?" he once asked Dan Quayle at an Oval Office meeting. Answer: "You oscillate her tit a lot." The vice president and his boss share a preference for a particular sort of decor: President Bush has kept an African sculpture of a man with a huge erect penis in a bathroom near the Oval Office, which he has delighted in springing on surprised female visitors.

Such macho posturing has been evident throughout Bush's adult life. His personal correspondence with an old college pal and fellow member of the Yale fraternity Skull and Bones, former representative Thomas "Lud" Ashley, is shot through with self-conscious studliness. The letters quoted below, which have never before been published, are from the library of Bowling Green State University in Ohio, where Ashley's congressional papers are archived.

The time was summer 1960. Both men were in their midthirties. Ashley was a bachelor congressman; Bush, an oil-company executive in Houston, married for 15 years, with five kids.

After a vacation in Maine during which Ashley paid a social visit, Bush wrote about an encounter with a buxom singer they both knew:

> It was wonderful to see you in Maine....After you got out of the picture Jayne [*sic*] Morgan showed up at our house for a big picnic. She seemed to be greatly attracted to me but again this is not particularly surprising. I finally had to run her off about four in the afternoon so she could get back for her early performance. I am glad you were not around at this time since it could have been a little humiliating for you....

A few days later, Ashley wrote back to Bush:

> Dear Poppy:
>
> ...In my last letter I failed to comment on your earlier allusion to Jayne [*sic*] Morgan. When I saw her at the theater I told her I thought I might still be around for the picnic, which, of course, explains why she showed up. As you know, I'm happy to help my friends in any way that I can.

Lud and Poppy were still exchanging stories of their lalapalooza the following summer, when Bush wrote,

> ...Not much else to report. My phone number is Sunset 22479 in case you want it. I have had to make it unlisted since Jane Morgan keeps calling me all the time.

A torch singer who had one hit in 1957, Morgan was born Florence Currier, a member of a prominent WASP family that also summered in Kennebunkport. The Currier place, which Jane Morgan now owns, is called Blueberry Hill.

She and Bush apparently first met in the late 1950s, when he saw her perform at the Kennebunkport Playhouse, and according to the *Los Angeles Times*, they "struck up a fast friendship." So fast and friendly, in fact, that Morgan traveled to Texas to sing at fundraisers for Bush's congressional campaigns. In the mid-1960s, Morgan married her much younger agent, Jerry Weintraub, now a faded movie mogul and the principal Hollywood booster of his wife's old pal.

A certain kind of young woman can evidently still undo George Bush. For example, not long ago an entertainment figure—who, though a regular at the Reagan White House, is not a Bush supporter—attended a Washington gala with his wife. The wife, an extremely attractive woman, has told friends that moments after she encountered President Bush, he suggested that she and he go off somewhere alone. Offended, she and her husband left the event in a huff. It is interesting to note that though the woman has told this story in detail to a number of *different* people, she denied it when SPY asked her about it recently. Such, it seems, is the immunity of the presidency.

If all the proof needed were what people who know him well say in private or off the record about George Bush, he would have been pilloried as a philanderer years ago. As it is, he has already endured several close calls.

The most persistent and widely repeated stories involve Jennifer A. Fitzgerald, a British-born woman, now 60, who since 1974 has served Bush "in a variety of positions," as *The Washington Post* once noted archly. After Bush became president, her exceptional devotion was rewarded with a cushy patronage appointment as the State Department's deputy chief of protocol.

The Reagan years weren't quite so pleasant for Fitzgerald. Her wrangling with other staff in the vice president's

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office was the subject of constant Washington chatter, as was her extraordinary influence over Bush himself. In 1982, *Time* quoted an aide who complained, "She has a strange hold on him." Other top Bush aides were certainly trying to depose Fitzgerald, using her apparent intimacy with the boss as a weapon.

But a self-serving motive for squealing doesn't automatically render the squealer's tale untrue. The suspicions about Bush and Fitzgerald were spelled out publicly for the first time four years ago this fall, when *L.A. Weekly* published a story naming her as a longtime mistress. "The Mistress Question," by Richard Ryan, which appeared just before the election, relied on unnamed acquaintances of former Bush staff members—that is, two third-hand sources—who said Fitzgerald had boasted about their affair.

The London tabloids didn't hesitate to run stories about the Ryan piece on page 1, naming Fitzgerald and another alleged mistress, the widow of Bush's friend. The American press was far more reticent. (When Hillary Clinton named Fitzgerald in a *Vanity Fair* interview earlier this year, the magazine declined to publish her last name.) When it came to Vice President Bush, the media ignored the rash of rumors even as revelations of Gary Hart's adultery were mooting his presidential ambitions.

But Fitzgerald is no publicity-seeking showgirl, only a high-ranking bureaucrat who would forfeit the fruits of a long government career if she publicly confessed. By now Fitzgerald appears an unlikely sexual object. But her relationship with Bush began almost 20 years ago. Bush and Fitzgerald, then a 42-year-old divorcée, were brought together by the aftermath of Watergate. For his unswerving loyalty as chairman of the Republican National Committee, Bush was rewarded with an appointment late in 1974 as the first official U.S. envoy to Beijing. Joining his escape from the White House ruins was Fitzgerald, a Nixon aide who had previously worked for Bush's close friend and political mentor, former FCC chairman Dean Burch. She was to serve as the new envoy's personal assistant.

Actually, George and Barbara Bush's marriage may already have been under some stress well before Beijing. When he was in New York as U.S. ambassador to the UN, Bush was frequently in the company of a fellow Yalie named Bo Polk. Social observers of the time remember the lavish parties Polk, a fun-loving divorced business executive, gave at his River House apartment. Polk's soirees were always, says one, "attended by lots of pretty girls."

Hoping to improve his pal's lightweight image, Polk invited a prominent editor to meet Ambassador Bush at a lunch at The '21' Club. An impression was made, but not the intended one. The editor now recalls the conversation as "startling. I mean, they were like a couple of frat boys. These two guys talked about girls the whole time. It seemed that Polk was pimping for Bush." (Polk could not be reached for comment.) Subsequently, says the editor, he began to notice Bush taking long, intimate lunches at the Palm, in the company of "a pretty young girl." It wasn't always the same young woman, he remembers.

Around the same time, as Gail Sheehy noted circumspectly in a 1988 profile of Bush for *Vanity Fair*, a "significant shift appears to have taken place in the Bushes' marriage." Barbara, in her midforties, stopped dyeing her hair and let it go gray. "George Bush," she told Sheehy in a voice tinged with bitterness, "never noticed."

"This was the period of greatest strain in the marriage," says a longtime Washington journalist who has extensively researched Barbara Bush's life. Although the president's own 1987 campaign autobiography, *Looking Forward*, offers a string of reminiscences of their China days, George and Barbara actually spent little time together in the People's Republic. Barbara was in the U.S. during most of 1975.

When Bush returned to head the CIA in 1976, Fitzgerald came with him, and from then on, except for a year in England at the U.S. embassy, she played a central role in his professional life. But her growing influence as his gatekeeper was already provoking concern, even anger, among Bush's political inner circle.

The men around Bush, led by James Baker, managed to push Fitzgerald out of the loop temporarily during his first campaign for president, in 1980. She was exiled to a New York office under a very unusual arrangement: The candidate continued to pay her salary out of his own pocket.

Tensions between Fitzgerald and others in the Bush camp worsened again in 1981, when she returned to Washington and immediately took control of the new vice president's schedule. By early 1982 her rankling style had caused two top staff members, including current Republican Party chairman Rich Bond, to resign in disgust. But in March 1985, as Baker began to plan Bush's next campaign, Fitzgerald was named legislative liaison to the Senate, a "promotion" that in practice meant removing her from the White House. Cause and effect aren't clear, but gossip about Bush and Fitzgerald began to circulate furiously during the 1985 shake-up. Sometime during this period, Fitzgerald was married extremely briefly to an older man.

It was Bush's GOP rivals who, in the spring of 1987, revived the Fitzgerald story. They succeeded only in worrying Lee Atwater, the late strategist of Bush's 1988 campaign, who somehow got the notion that *Newsweek* was about to run a major story on Bush and adultery. In a frantic state, he called the magazine's Washington bureau and asked, "What are you guys up to? Should we have lunch?" Amused, bureau chief Evan Thomas said sure, and went with correspondent Howard Fineman to the Old Ebbitt Grill. Together they listened as a chain-smoking Atwater, without denying anything, fretted aloud. "Ironically," Thomas says now, "we weren't doing jack shit."

Within days, Fineman got a surprise phone call from George W. Bush, the candidate's oldest son, who offered this famous quote about his dad: "The answer to the Big A question is *N-O*."

This awkward, entirely unsolicited denial was risky. It could have stimulated an investigative scouring of Bush, especially when, a year later, Re-

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"We were just flabbergasted," remembers a contemporary of a woman who has said she was one of Bush's girlfriends. "How could somebody our age sleep with an old guy who'd run the CIA, done this, done that?"

publican operatives began to peddle a few extremely nasty personal slanders against Michael and Kitty Dukakis.

But according to journalists who covered the 1988 campaign, most attempts to scrutinize Bush's personal life amounted to little more than pantomime. "This is how we tried [to deal with the Jennifer story] back then," a *Time* correspondent says. "We all said, 'Hmmm. Let's call Jennifer Fitzgerald.' And she would never call back....And anyone who says we investigated it fully is wrong."

The Washington press corps dropped the ball yet again when, in April 1990, it was revealed that Fitzgerald was under joint investigation by the State Department's inspector general and the Customs Service. A passionate shopper, she had purchased a nutria-lined raincoat and a silver-fox cape during an official visit to Argentina the previous summer, and she had failed to declare all of her booty at Customs. In other words, she'd smuggled.

Sparked by an anonymous tip from one of Fitzgerald's many antagonists in the government, the official probe led to a Customs Service fine of $648. Later in 1990 it was reported that the inspector general had found her guilty of "gross misconduct," and that State's personnel division had recommended a slap-on-the-wrist penalty of 15 days' leave without pay.

Aside from paying her fine, was Fitzgerald ever punished? According to State Department sources, the 15-day suspension was never carried out.

Next to the guillotining of John Sununu for abuses that violated only regulations, not laws, the very gentle treatment of Fitzgerald is rather strange. Why was *she* allowed to walk? For the press, the fur-smuggling case was a strikingly appropriate opportunity to probe more deeply into Fitzgerald's long relationship with Bush. Instead, the national media looked away.

But paradoxically, perhaps the greatest service rendered to her beloved boss by Jennifer Fitzgerald is her role as a diversion from other, possibly better targets. It's not that the allegations about their affair are false. "Probably only some Chinese maid in Beijing knows the truth about that," says one editor. It's just that any news organization can make a desultory attempt to find evidence about an affair with Fitzgerald that probably ended years ago. After a few phone calls that produce nothing usable, the editor can tell himself that he tried, and that's that.

Meanwhile, phone lines in New York and Washington buzz with the names of other purported Bush paramours. At least one newsmagazine editor has a copy of a well-circulated list posted on his wall with the names of six women.

No. 1 on that list is the widow of the congressman who was one of Bush's best friends. This woman was appointed to a position of considerable power in the Bush administration. In 1988 her name was published by a British tabloid, which reported a much-repeated rumor that Bush had been *shot* on her doorstep in early 1981, around the time of the incident reported in Kelley's book, suffering a flesh wound that was hushed up by his bodyguards. So feverishly was this tale repeated at the time that *The Washington Post* ran a lengthy story discounting it, headlined ANATOMY OF A WASHINGTON RUMOR. That story, which omitted any mention of an alleged mistress, was co-written by Janet Cooke.

No. 2 on the list is a highly controversial appointee of the Reagan administration who was then divorced but has since remarried. Nos. 3 and 4 are a New York socialite and a recently deceased woman who moved to Washington from North Dakota several years ago after divorcing her husband. No. 5 is the not-forgotten Fitzgerald, and No. 6 is a photographer for a national magazine who is supposed to have met Bush overseas.

Asked if his magazine was employing any of its considerable resources to pin down or dismiss the rumors that fly in over the transom, the editor with the posted list hesitated. "No," he admitted. "Not really."

Of the women on this list, SPY found considerable evidence only about No. 2. Her name has leaked out because both she and one of her daughters have told various friends about her relationship with Bush, which ended before her second marriage. One of the woman's close friends, a veteran movie director, considered going public in 1988 and then decided not to. When reached by SPY recently, this man wouldn't deny that No. 2 had told him about the affair. "I wish I could discuss it," he said, "but I can't. There are people's lives and families and reputations involved."

A friend of No. 2's daughter's blurted out her knowledge of the affair to a couple in Washington at whose home she was staying in September 1988. The hostess, a prominent businesswoman, was fascinated and appalled as her young guest recounted details of the affair and added that No. 2 was expecting to receive a diplomatic post if Bush were elected. "I couldn't believe what the young woman was telling us," the businesswoman told SPY. "I felt so sorry for Barbara." She was startled one morning a few months later when she read in *The Washington Post* that the woman named by her houseguest had been appointed to an ambassadorial post.

In addition to following up the women on the list, SPY's own investigation succeeded in finding a woman who apparently had an affair with Bush while he was running for president in 1980. There are powerful reasons, beyond libel or the invasion of her privacy, to refrain from using this woman's name. Let's call her Ms. X.

Ms. X, a former journalist who has never married, was living in New

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York City when she got an assignment from a news agency to cover the nascent presidential campaign, mostly in New Hampshire. This brought her into close proximity to Bush. She was slim, about 30, with reddish-blond hair. One woman who has met both says she bears a striking resemblance to the young Jennifer Fitzgerald. Though liked and respected in her profession, she was also considered quite fragile, because only a year earlier she had endured a horrifying family tragedy.

Her assignment, which lasted several months, ended well before the campaign was over. By the summer of 1980, Ms. X had told several different friends in New York that she was romantically involved with Bush—who at that time was simply a failed Republican presidential contender, not even the vice presidential nominee. Most of these conversations took place at a Catskills summer house that belonged to one of her closest friends. Two young women friends of Ms. X's who were there at the time recall hearing the older woman who owned the house say, "Poor [Ms. X]. She shouldn't be sleeping with George Bush."

Their reaction was one of shock and surprise. "We were just flabbergasted," says one. "How could somebody our age—she's just a few years older than us—how could somebody sleep with an old guy who'd run the CIA, done this, done that? I guess it was kind of a naive reaction. But there was never any question that it was going on."

In late 1980, following the Reagan-Bush victory, the conversation turned to whether Ms. X should accept a position in the White House that Bush had discussed with her. Though she never got the White House job, Ms. X moved to Washington and in 1981 ended up working for a major environmental organization.

It was while working there that she confided her secret to another close friend, who also declined to speak for attribution. Now a businessman and civic leader on the West Coast, he has never met any of Ms. X's New York friends. "When she told me about Bush, I was floored," he says. "The conversation went something like this: I said, 'I wish somebody could prove this thing about Bush and adultery.' She said, 'I could prove that.' I said, 'What? Did you sleep with him?' 'Yes,' she said, 'I did.' I seem to remember that it went on for some time."

The man, who later hired Ms. X for a job in his business, also insists that telling a lie about her personal life would have been totally out of character. "There was no doubt in my mind that she was telling the truth," he says.

According to this source, his wife is also friends with Ms. X. He says that Ms. X once mentioned to his wife that she had expected to get a job in the White House in 1981, but that no final offer had come. Why? "She told my wife that the reason she didn't get the job was because Barbara [Bush] was jealous of her. And when I said to my wife, 'Why was Barbara jealous of her?,' my wife said, 'Oh, an attractive woman, I guess.' And I asked my wife whether Ms. X had ever mentioned this [affair] to her...and she said no."

He speaks of Ms. X protectively. Though always "straightforward" and "incredibly honest," she is emotionally fragile, he says. To have her name publicly associated with scandal, he warned, could cause Ms. X to have a nervous breakdown—or worse.

The woman who owns the house upstate where the affair was first revealed as it was being conducted refuses now to confirm or deny having had those conversations with Ms. X: "She's a friend of mine, and I'm not about to say anything that she wouldn't say. I think we have to leave the conversation right there."

Does that mean Ms. X has never told her about an affair with Bush?

"I won't discuss her private life one way or the other. So that's where we leave it. [If I were you,] I would take it as an answer of somebody who does not wish to discuss this, who tells you that she thinks you have a nonstory, and I don't discuss the private life of my close friends. Period."

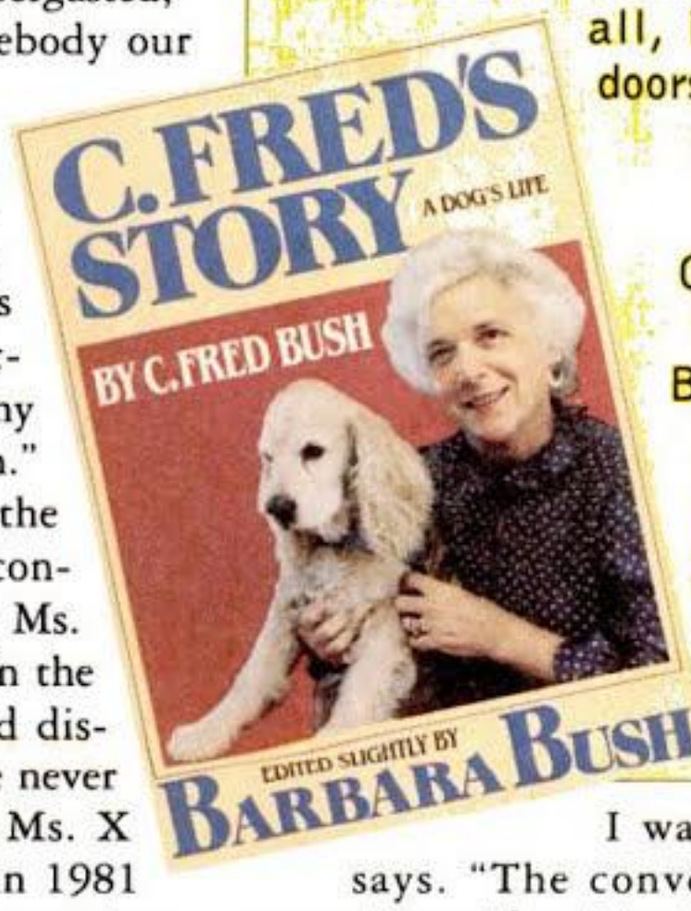
The head of the news agency that employed Ms. X during the 1980 campaign says, "I've heard that rumor. I know of absolutely no substantiation of it. I wouldn't believe it, because she's too Catholic. I can't believe she'd get involved with a married man." And while she appears to have had a sedate social life, there also seems to have been a different, more free-spirited side to Ms. X. One man who knows her only slightly recalls a summer party in the early 1980s in Washington where she suddenly stripped off all of her

Dog Bites Mistress?

An Extraordinary Excerpt from a 1984 Book About an Earlier Bush-Family Spaniel

"Once when George took Barbara on a trip Jennifer Fitzgerald dog-sat with me. I moved right into her apartment. One night Jennifer was having a date. She rushed me home, gave me dinner and then ran in to bathe and change for her evening out. As she and her date were just relaxing with a drink, I thought a little game would be fun and came prancing into the living room with her panty hose hanging out of my mouth. This was greeted by a deep silence and there was no chase. Jennifer laughed. I liked Jennifer.

"Jennifer also took me to the Great Wall of China....Bar and George didn't dare let me walk on the wall. Jennifer did, but even she winced when I performed on the Great Wall of China. I don't know why. After all, it was outdoors."



—*C. Fred's Story*, by C. Fred Bush, with Barbara Bush (Doubleday, 1984), page 24

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clothes and jumped into the pool.

As for Ms. X herself, when SPY reached her to ask whether she had indeed told her friends about the affair, she first replied, "Why would I ever tell a lie to a friend of mine?" Ms. X repeated this rhetorical question again and again during a short conversation, at first hesitating to address the issue of the affair directly. (Indeed, a reluctance to tell an out-and-out lie jibes with the straight-shooting Catholic-girl persona described by the West Coast businessman.) But then she denied the affair with Bush outright: "It is absolutely and 100 percent a lie."

Ms. X did tell SPY that she knew Bush personally and had met him during the 1980 election. Questions about the affair she had claimed to have had with Bush were "inappropriate," she said, and "an invasion of my privacy." Finally, after considerable yes-or-no questioning, she warned that "if I ever see this in print, anywhere, I am going to sue whatever publication it is for every cent they've got." Reminded that to be libelous a story must be untrue, and that several friends had described her stories of the affair, she replied, "Maybe libel wouldn't be how we'll pursue it.... And I think that maybe women could understand this a little more clearly than men [could], but if anything like this were something *you* had to deal with, professionally and personally, you would react exactly the same way....What you're doing is destroying my privacy." She asked who had given out her unlisted phone number—which she promptly changed.

Ms. X is a responsible professional who spent months on the 1980 campaign trail with Bush. Then, and a couple of years later, she told a few close friends of an affair with him. Presume she was telling the truth then. Is this relevant to his fitness for another term in the White House? Does it matter whether he had an affair with Jennifer Fitzgerald, or with any of the several other women whose names have been linked to his? Would it become significant simply because, through his son, he may have lied about adultery five years ago?

Perhaps not. If George Bush had entered the White House a virgin and remained pure for the past four years and the next four, he would still suffer by comparison to several presidents who were known philanderers: Jefferson, FDR, even LBJ and Eisenhower.

Still, there are legitimate reasons to ask hard questions about the president's personal life. For years Bush has used his wife, children and grandchildren to bolster a symbolic persona. He is, he has told us again and again as he campaigns against abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment and a dozen other supposed threats to the American way of life, the one candidate who truly supports "family values." Such dissonance between campaign rhetoric and personal behavior ought not to be ignored.

Even more to the point is that the Republicans have not hesitated for an instant to employ such information against their opponents. They have been involved in the exposure of Bill Clinton, and the GOP is reported to have three dozen researchers working full-time to produce more dirt. There is, or there ought to be, such a thing as a level playing field.

Certainly it's past time for American politics to grow up and reach a point where stories about our leaders' sex lives are treated as the titillating, perhaps largely irrelevant trivia they usually are. But that maturity will never be achieved as long as the public is permitted to see the messy human truth only about Democrats, while Republicans are displayed inside a bubble of happy, wholesome illusion.

If that bubble is at long last pierced by a rude question sometime this year, the reporter who finally decides to ask the president about adultery should know that George Bush has been ready to answer for a long time. Back during the 1988 campaign, as he prepped for the Iowa caucuses, his aides staged a mock debate in which his Labor secretary–to–be, Lynn Martin, put the issue to him directly: "Yes or no—have you ever committed adultery?"

The answer he gave then, the answer he has been prepared to give ever since, and in fact the only public answer he has ever given directly, was one that now seems to echo Bill Clinton and Gary Hart: "None of your damn business!"



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12

The JFK Thing

Internal FBI memos indicate that on November 22, 1963, "reputable businessman" George H.W. Bush "telephonically advised that he wanted to relate some hearsay that he had heard in recent weeks, date and source unknown. He advised that one James Parrott has been talking of killing the president when he comes to Houston." *Who?* Agents investigated and found that 24-year-old James Parrott was a Young Republican who regularly picketed Kennedy-administration officials when they visited Houston. The FBI also learned that the Secret Service in Houston had been told that in 1961, Parrott had said he "would kill President Kennedy if he got near him." Parrott, however, had not been near the president, or even in Dallas, on November 22. Was Bush just being a misguided do-good weenie? Or was he trying to throw the FBI off the trail? (Conspiracy theorists have linked Bush with the assassination in part because of the appearance of his name in the address book of one George de Morenschildt, a Dallas aristocrat who had befriended Lee Harvey Oswald.) Parrott, now a GOP functionary, told us he is a Bush supporter, at least since Pat Buchanan was eliminated. He denies having threatened JFK and believes that Oswald shot him—under orders from Khrushchev, Castro and Lyndon Johnson—and that there is still a Communist plot to take over the U.S.

—David Robb

13

The Lying-About-JFK Thing

Despite the existence of the memo at right, Bush was asked this past January whether he had looked into the assassination during the year he served as CIA director. "No," he replied. "I didn't have any curiosity, because I believed that the Warren Commission, which was acted—when was that finding? When—when was the Warren Commission signed? Was it '63? Which was about 12 years before I was out at the agency was—I saw no reason to question it. Still see no reason to question it."

–D.R.

September 15, 1976

NOTE FOR: DDCI

A recent Jack Anderson story referred to a November 1963 (?) CIA cable, the subject matter of which had some UK journalist observing Jack Ruby visiting Trafficante in jail. Is there such a cable? If so I would like to see it.

This is the same cable that Mike Hadigan, Minority Counsel for the SSC, has asked for.

George Bush

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No. 4

The War-Hero Thing

In 1944 a TBM Avenger piloted by Lieutenant George Bush was hit during the course of a bombing run over Chichi Jima. In an act of genuine heroism, Bush completed the bombing run. The plane then crashed into the Pacific; the two other fliers on board were killed. Bush has always claimed that this incident was a defining moment in his life, and in a 1988 letter he wrote, "I will never forget...that tragic day." No doubt; but while he may have not forgotten that day, one of the central details has become a little wispy.

The event as recalled in his 1987 autobiography, *Looking Forward*: "Still, I was alive and had a chance. The question was whether my crew members had survived. Neither had responded after the order to bail out....[After being rescued] I thanked God for having saved my life and said a silent prayer for the safety of my fellow crew members. Later I learned that neither Jack Delaney nor Ted White had survived. One went down with the plane; the other was seen jumping but his parachute failed to open."

The event as recalled in his 1988 autobiography, *Man of Integrity*: "To tell you the truth, I thought I was a goner. I looked back and saw that my rear gunner [White] was out. He had been machine-gunned to death right where he was. So I then turned back over the water and we [Bush and Delaney] bailed out....He was evidently cut to ribbons as he parachuted down."

So why say a prayer for the safety of a man he had already seen machine-gunned to death? In 1987 he said that while drifting in the ocean, waiting to be rescued, "I thought of my family, my mom and dad....I thought of my faith, the separation of church and state."

—D.R.

No. 5

Harry Blackmun is 84 years old.

No. 6

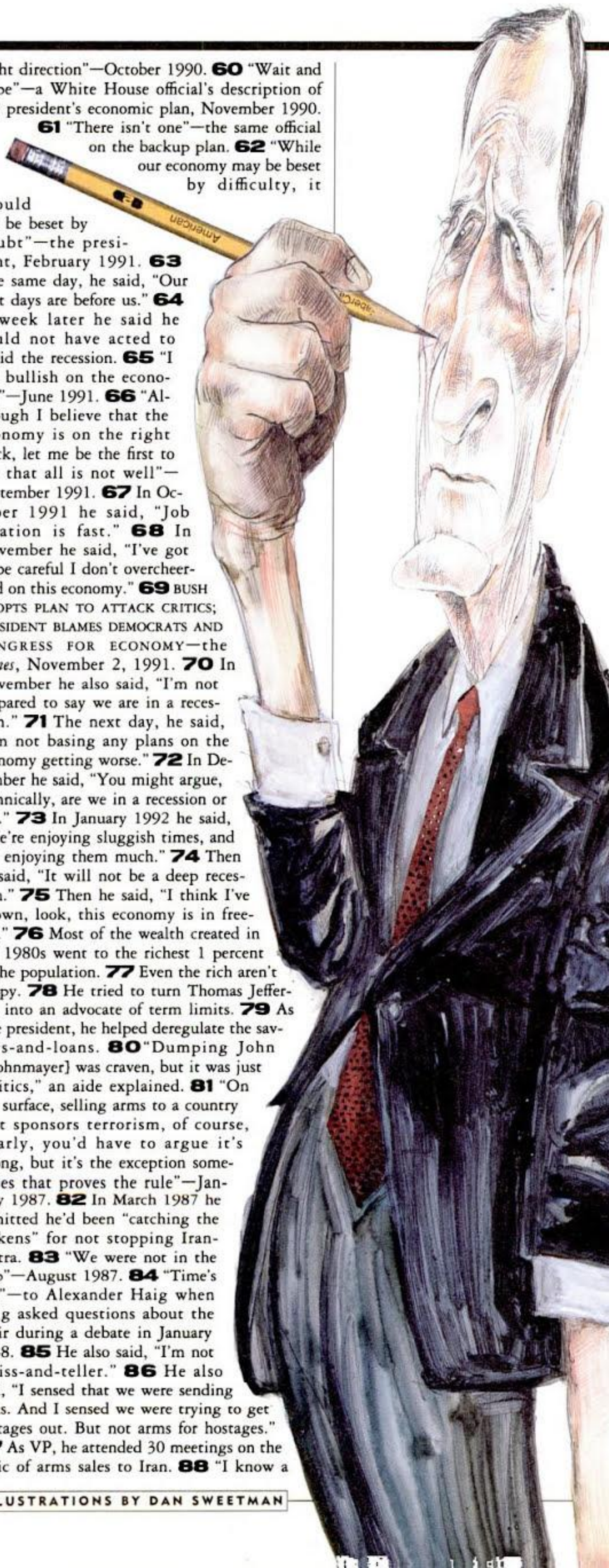
If we vote him out, that's one new job created.

No. 7

His doctor says he should get some rest. **8** Asked why he wanted a second term, he said, "I think the people want change." **9** In March 1992 he said, "Change is nothing to fear." **10** In April he said, "The need for reform won't wait." **11** And "We must rekindle a revolution." **12** In seven public appearances in April, he referred to "change" or "reform" 188 times. **13** The GNP increased an average of only 0.6 percent per year during the first three years of his presidency. **14** Even if the economy does nine times better this year, he will still have the worst record of any president since World War II. **15** In January 1992 he said, "I will do what I have to to be reelected." **16** A campaign official said, "We'll stoop to whatever is necessary to win." **17** When schoolchildren chanted, "Read my lips: no new taxes," he whined about "attack-dog politics." **18** He told newspaper editors that the 1992 presidential campaign was the "ugliest" he'd ever seen. **19** He added that "we've tried to have most of ours positive." **20** He said he'd "instructed his people to stay out of the sleaze business." **21** "We are going to paint Clinton as a man out of control, who can't control his zipper, can't control his wife and can't control his waistline"—a senior adviser. **22** The cost of a photo op with Bush at an April 1992 fundraiser was $92,000. **23** BUSH SIGNALS CAUTIOUS CAMPAIGN—*Los Angeles Times*, June 2, 1988. **24** BUSH PLANS TO CONTINUE CAUTIOUS SOVIET POLICY—*The Washington Post*, January 20, 1989. **25** BUSH CAUTIOUS ON ANTI-INFLATION STEPS—*The New York Times*, January 26, 1989. **26** AT CEREMONY FOR CHENEY, BUSH CAUTIOUS ON CUTS—*The Washington Post*, March 22, 1989. **27** CAUTIOUS PATH FOR BUSH'S EUROPE TRIP—the *Times*, May 26, 1989. **28** BUSH CAUTIOUS BUT FIRM ON CHINA—*USA Today*, June 9, 1989. **29** EAST BLOC CHANGES HAILED; BUT BUSH IS CAUTIOUS ON BID BY GORBACHEV—*The Washington Post*, July 17, 1989. **30** BUSH "ENCOURAGED" BY RAFSANJANI OFFER BUT TAKES CAUTIOUS STANCE—*L.A. Times*, August 6, 1989. **31** BUSH CAUTIOUS ON FURTHER AID TO POLAND—*L.A. Times*, September 28, 1989. **32** ON PANAMA, BUSH CHARACTERISTICALLY CAUTIOUS—*The Washington Post*, October 15, 1989. **33** BUSH IS CAUTIOUS ON DOMESTIC GOALS—the *Times*, February 1, 1990. **34** BUSH CAUTIOUS ON GLOBAL WARMING—*USA Today*, February 5, 1990. **35** BUSH TALKS IN SF, URGES "CAUTIOUS" DEFENSE CUTS—*The San Francisco Chronicle*, February 8, 1990. **36** BUSH YIELDS TO AN IMPULSE TO STAY CAUTIOUS ABOUT THE SOVIETS—the *Times*, February 11, 1990. **37** BUSH DEFENDS CAUTIOUS LITHUANIA POLICY—*L.A. Times*, March 29, 1990. **38** AT INTERNATIONAL MEETING, BUSH CAUTIOUS ON GLOBAL WARMING—*The Boston Globe*, April 18, 1990. **39** BUSH REMAINS CAUTIOUS ON BALTIC EVENTS—*The Washington Post*, January 12, 1991. **40** THE CAUTIOUS BUSH BUDGET IS A NO-RISK CAMPAIGN PLAN—*The Atlanta Constitution*, February 7, 1991. **41** CONDOMS IN CLASS: BUSH IS CAUTIOUS—*The Washington Times*, April 19, 1991. **42** BAILING OUT SOVIETS: BUSH IS CAUTIOUS—the *Times*, June 12, 1991. **43** In February 1992, the U.S. came in fourteenth out of 15 in international math-and-science testing of 13-year-olds. **44** It ranked behind Ireland. **45** It ranked behind Slovenia. **46** An aide said, "Just call him the vacation president." **47** He went on vacation during the first days of the Panama invasion. **48** He went on vacation at the height of the Gulf crisis. **49** His secretary of State said, "Fuck the Jews, they didn't vote for us anyway." **50** He spent $181.5 million on a new Air Force One. **51** Some of this money went to monogrammed boxes of M&M's. **52** He held up that bag of crack on TV. **53** It cost taxpayers $2,400. **54** "Operation Just Cause," "Operation Desert Shield" and "Operation Desert Storm" sound more like Tom Clancy than like Winston Churchill. **55** Son Jeb's company sold Kuwait the pumps to drain the oil lakes created by Iraq. **56** "I have an obligation as president to conduct the foreign policy of the United States as I see fit....If the American people don't like it, I expect they'll get somebody else to do my job"—at Christmastime before the Panama invasion. **57** He thinks a handwritten note will solve any problem. **58** He treats foreign leaders like frat brothers. **59** "The economy is moving in the

by Larry Doyle

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1000 REASONS NOT TO VOTE FOR GEORGE BUSH

right direction"—October 1990. **60** "Wait and hope"—a White House official's description of the president's economic plan, November 1990. **61** "There isn't one"—the same official on the backup plan. **62** "While our economy may be beset by difficulty, it should not be beset by doubt"—the president, February 1991. **63** The same day, he said, "Our best days are before us." **64** A week later he said he could not have acted to avoid the recession. **65** "I am bullish on the economy"—June 1991. **66** "Although I believe that the economy is on the right track, let me be the first to say that all is not well"—September 1991. **67** In October 1991 he said, "Job creation is fast." **68** In November he said, "I've got to be careful I don't overcheerlead on this economy." **69** BUSH ADOPTS PLAN TO ATTACK CRITICS; PRESIDENT BLAMES DEMOCRATS AND CONGRESS FOR ECONOMY—the *Times*, November 2, 1991. **70** In November he also said, "I'm not prepared to say we are in a recession." **71** The next day, he said, "I'm not basing any plans on the economy getting worse." **72** In December he said, "You might argue, technically, are we in a recession or not." **73** In January 1992 he said, "We're enjoying sluggish times, and not enjoying them much." **74** Then he said, "It will not be a deep recession." **75** Then he said, "I think I've known, look, this economy is in freefall." **76** Most of the wealth created in the 1980s went to the richest 1 percent of the population. **77** Even the rich aren't happy. **78** He tried to turn Thomas Jefferson into an advocate of term limits. **79** As vice president, he helped deregulate the savings-and-loans. **80** "Dumping John [Frohnmayer] was craven, but it was just politics," an aide explained. **81** "On the surface, selling arms to a country that sponsors terrorism, of course, clearly, you'd have to argue it's wrong, but it's the exception sometimes that proves the rule"—January 1987. **82** In March 1987 he admitted he'd been "catching the dickens" for not stopping Iran-contra. **83** "We were not in the loop"—August 1987. **84** "Time's up!"—to Alexander Haig when Haig asked questions about the affair during a debate in January 1988. **85** He also said, "I'm not a kiss-and-teller." **86** He also said, "I sensed that we were sending arms. And I sensed we were trying to get hostages out. But not arms for hostages." **87** As VP, he attended 30 meetings on the topic of arms sales to Iran. **88** "I know a lot—close to it—but I don't know whether I knew everything"—January 1988. **89** "I think the key players around there know I expressed certain reservations on certain aspects"—February 1988. **90** "I was out of the loop"—May 1988. **91** "I'm in on everything. If our policies aren't working, I can't say, 'Wait a minute, I'm not to blame.'...I feel I'm a full partner"—August 1988. **92** The name of Donald Gregg, his national security adviser when he was VP and now his ambassador to South Korea, came up often in the Iran-contra inquiries. **93** The name of his ambassador to Mexico, John Negroponte, also came up often. **94** "I bet I prepared a couple of hundred thousand pages of memoranda that went...to the vice president's office"—Oliver North. **95** "Your dedication and tireless work on the hostage thing, with Central America, really gave me cause for great pride in you and thanks. Get some turkey, George Bush"—a Thanksgiving letter to Oliver North, 1985. **96** "Read my lips: no new taxes!" was a winning slogan in David Duke's campaign for the Louisiana Legislature. **97** "I support [the ERA]. Governor Reagan does not. And I support Governor Reagan"—as the VP candidate. **98** In 1992 he would have paid $58,000 more in taxes if he officially lived in Washington. **99** He would have paid $59,000 more if he officially lived in his 26-room mansion in Kennebunkport. **100** His official residence is a hotel room in Houston. He pays for the hotel room only on the nights he stays there. He has stayed there an average of five nights a year. **101** Asked about this ruse, his campaign secretary responded, "[The Bushes] are abiding by the law." **102** In 1992 his effective tax rate was 15 percent. **103** Ritual masturbation is practiced at Skull and Bones. **104** He has kept his preppy friend Nick Brady on the job much too long. **105** He thinks C. Boyden Gray is the right person to make civil-rights policy. **106** The Chicken Kiev Speech. **107** He forced Louis Sullivan to renounce his position on abortion. **108** Sonya. **109** Asked what he would like to accomplish in his first 100 days, he said, "I don't know." **110** "We're not geared up to have anything accomplished in 90 days or 100 days or any other period of time." **111** "I'd like to think that you might see by then some new foreign-policy initiative. I don't know where or how"—a response to another 100-days question. **112** On day 1 he got lost in the White House. **113** On day 3 an official said, "The administration would rather stay one step behind than be one step ahead." **114** On day 4 an official summed up the first full workday: "Nothing dramatic has happened." **115** On day 5 the president proposed a right-to-life constitutional amendment. **116** In 1980 he said, "I do not want to amend the Constitution to override the decision of the Supreme Court [on abortion]." **117** On day 6 he called for ethics in the White House. Meanwhile... **118** Jim Baker held stock in a bank that makes loans to small countries, which is also part of Baker's job description as secretary of State. **119** C. Boyden Gray, his chief ethics adviser, was still being paid by his family firm. **120** And Gray had neglected to report $98,000 on 1985 and '86 financial-disclosure statements. **121** On day 9 the president wrote a

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note excusing himself from the Oliver North trial. **122** On day 12 he said of the previous eight years' deficits, "They're enormous!" **123** On day 13 an adviser said, "He didn't understand the deficit until after the election." **124** On day 18 the cost of bailing out the S&Ls was said to be $50-billion. **125** On day 19 he said, "We can afford to increase spending...and still cut the budget by almost 40 percent in one year." **126** On day 20 he said, "I hope I haven't created something that just carries things too far," as ethics charges against his Cabinet mounted. **127** On day 21 he unveiled his new budget, saying he had made some "tough choices." **128** For instance, he'd chosen to cut by 55 percent the tax on the profits from selling off the parts of a conglomerate. **129** And to cut the budget for taking care of sick old people by $5 billion. **130** And to give tax breaks to independent oil barons. **131** He said, "Some would say, 'Hey, that favors those who go out and drill.' And I say, 'Wait a minute, that's true.'" **132** Having had to decide between funding either the MX or the Midgetman, he'd picked both. **133** On day 23 it was revealed that his budget contained $10 billion worth of "unspecified" cuts in domestic programs. **134** He admitted that "every *t* hasn't been crossed and every *i* dotted." **135** Only 1 percent of the budget was dedicated to programs for the homeless, drug abuse, education and the environment. **137** On day 32 the S&L bailout was hidden "off-budget." **138** On day 33 his secretary of Education told Congress the agency had no idea how to pay for new education programs in the budget. **139** On day 38 the president urged China to encourage foreign investment; his brother Prescott had been trying to build a golf course there. **140** On day 41 he declared that "America faces immediate problems like ocean dumping," unaware that Congress had passed a ban on ocean dumping in 1988. **141** On day 46, asked why his presidency was "hitting the ground crawling," he explained, "It is the prudent thing to do." **142** On day 47 he said you couldn't ban Uzis and AK-47s and "still, you know, do right by the legitimate sportsman." **143** On day 48 he told critics, "A lot is happening—not all of it good, but a lot is happening." **144** On day 53 he banned foreign semiautomatic assault weapons, which accounted for a small proportion of the U.S. market. **145** On day 55 it was revealed that he spent several minutes a day running in place. **146** On day 56 he declared, "More is going on than meets the eye." **147** On day 57 his dog had puppies. **148** On day 69 a Los Angeles teen asked him why the government had cut back on education since 1980. He told her that her figures were wrong. They were right. **149** On day 72 he dedicated a new White House horseshoe pit. **150** On day 73, in a purely symbolic gesture, he proclaimed it National Child Care Awareness Week. **151** On day 74 he threw out the first pitch of the Baltimore Orioles' season. High and away. **152** He was booed. **153** On day 77 he attacked any rise in the $4.25-an-hour minimum wage: "Not one penny." **154** On day 83 he unveiled a new executive code of conduct that would "ensure that the law is respected, in fact and in appearance." Also, he called Oliver North "an American hero." **155** On day 85 the *Times* reported, "White House officials worry that the coming evaluations of the 'first hundred days' will suggest that the President...has no agenda, no money, no strategy, no message, no ideology, no worldview and no explanation for his mysterious role in the Iran-contra scandal." **156** On day 90, in a purely symbolic gesture, he declared it National Recycling Month. **157** On day 91 he created the National Space Council and put Quayle in charge. One goal: to advance our "foreign-policy interest in space." **158** On day 100 he cited the recent budget agreement as "a key example" of his successful first 100 days. The budget would eventually run a deficit of $220.4 billion, $96.6-billion more than Ronald Reagan's last budget deficit. **159** In FDR's first 100 days the New Deal was established. **160** In Truman's, Germany was defeated. **161** In JFK's, the Peace Corps was established and the first man was put in space. **162** In Reagan's, the Iran hostages were released, an assassination attempt was survived, and the Great Society was dismantled. **163** Bush said his first 100 days were saved by pictures of the puppies. **164** "I don't know what he did in his first 100 days"—comparing his first 100 days with Martin Van Buren's. **165** At Auschwitz he said, "Boy, they were big on crematoriums, weren't they?" **166** Forty-eight percent of workers at large- and medium-size companies currently have fully paid health insurance. **167** Between 1982 and '89 the average monthly employee contribution to health care increased 178 percent. **168** Ninety-one percent of the military bases he has closed are in Democratic districts. **169** "[I will] fix [the S&L debacle] and fix it once and for all"—June 1989. **170** As of March 1990 the S&Ls were losing $3 million an hour. **171** To oversee the bailout, he nominated a former campaign aide who lacked experience in the financial industry but who said, "I'm a quick learner." **172** He opposed requiring warning labels on aspirin bottles; thousands of children developed Reye's syndrome. **173** He opposed forcing manufacturers to make children's pajamas nonflammable. **174** He called for food-safety legislation to protect children from pesticides, then sent Congress a bill that would weaken food-safety standards. **175** In 1982 the administration took Iraq off the list of countries supporting terrorism, thereby making it legal to sell Iraq arms. **176** In 1984, as VP, he persuaded the Export-Import Bank to lend Iraq $500-million. **177** In February 1987 the White House learned that Saudi Arabia was transferring bombs to Iraq; the White House was legally obliged to report this to Congress. It did not. **178** In February 1987 he asked the Ex-Im Bank for another $200 million for Iraq. **179** In March 1987 he met with the Iraqi ambassador and assured him that Iraq could still buy weapons from the U.S. **180** In August 1988, when a State Department official questioned this, he was told, "We have no concerns about Iraq." **181** In April 1989 the administration dismissed the Energy Department's concerns that Iraq was building a nuclear bomb. **182** In October 1989, Iraq's foreign minister complained to the secretary of State about a federal investigation of a $4 billion bank fraud involving accusations that Iraq had used this money to buy weapons. The investigation was stymied. **183** That month, the Agriculture Department warned that Iraq might be using its food credits to buy nuclear technologies. **184** That same month, a secret presidential directive ordered federal agencies to increase ties with Baghdad. **185** Also that same month, the secretary of State forced the Agriculture Department to give Iraq $500 million more in loan guarantees. **186** "In the worst-case scenario, investigators would find a direct link to financing Iraqi military expenditures"—in a memo to his secretary of Agriculture, February 13, 1990. **187** Saddam Hussein hanged a reporter for the London *Observer* in early March 1990, despite worldwide appeals from just about everybody but the U.S. **188** Asked what the U.S. intended to do in light of the hanging, a State Department spokeswoman responded, "I did not think to ask." **189** In March 1990, U.S. Customs caught Iraq trying to buy electronic triggers for nuclear bombs. **190** In April, presidential friend Alan Simpson told Saddam Hussein that his problem was not the U.S. government but the Western media: "It's a haughty and pampered press." **191** In May, Hussein called Kuwait's increased oil production an act of war; the State Department commented, "Typical exaggerated rhetoric." **192** As of that month, the U.S. was still supplying intelligence to Iraq. **193** July 2, 1990: "By God, we will make fire eat up half of Israel"—Saddam Hussein. **195** On July 31, with Iraq's troops massed on Kuwait's border, Assistant Secretary of State John Kelly lobbied Congress for continued trade with Iraq. **196** "With 90-90 hindsight, I'd certainly rethink our position"—the president, April 9, 1992. **197** "We're not discussing intervention. I'm not contemplating such action"—on his way to meet Margaret Thatcher the morning after Iraq invaded Kuwait. **198** "Remember, George, this is no time to go wobbly"—Thatcher. **199** "We're not ruling any options in, and we're not ruling any options out"—that afternoon, with Thatcher sitting by his side. **200** "The prime minister performed a successful backbone transplant"—a senior Thatcher adviser. **201** What was at stake: "our jobs, our way of life, our own freedom." **202** While urging fuel conservation during the crisis, he tooled around in his speedboat. **203** "To sum it up in one word, it's *jobs*"—his secretary of State on why we fought in the Gulf. **204** "We're also talking about maintaining access to energy resources"—Bush, August 10, 1990. **205** "It isn't oil we're concerned about, it is aggression"—October 23. **206** General Colin Powell wanted to stick with sanctions.

№ 136 Bush's budget director justified the tiny amounts to be spent on homelessness and education by saying, "It's not just the moneys that are spent. It's the inspiration Bush hopes to provide."

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№194 Three weeks before Iraq invaded Kuwait, Bush's ambassador to Iraq told Saddam Hussein, "We have no opinion on the Arab-Arab differences, like your border disagreement with Kuwait."

207 When Powell said the U.S. would deploy 250,000 troops, Chief of Staff John Sununu called the figure "preposterous." **208** "Nightmare scenario"—what White House advisers called the possibility that Hussein might suddenly withdraw his troops, leaving war fever unsatisfied. **209** "When I need a little free advice about Saddam Hussein, I turn to country music"—October 1990. **210** "Economic sanctions, if fully enforced, can be very, very effective...should begin to bite pretty soon...and then we'll wait and see where we go from there. But I have no—we're not—I'm not beyond that in my thinking"—August 1990. **211** "I don't think the president will buy [letting sanctions work]. That would constitute policy failure"—Dick Cheney, October 1990. **212** "I've indicated that we're prepared to give sanctions time to work, and I'll report that here again today"—the president, early November. **213** "If the [alternative] to going to war is sitting out here in the desert another summer, that's not a bad option"—General Norman Schwarzkopf, early November. **214** "We ought to let this thing unfold and stay behind the sanctions"—Marine commandant General Alfred Gray, mid-November. **215** "It is not whether an embargo will work, but whether we have the patience to let it take effect"—former Joint Chiefs of Staff admiral William Crowe, late November. **216** The president didn't get around to mentioning nuclear weapons until late November. **217** On November 30, he offered to send his secretary of State to Baghdad, indicating he would "go the extra mile for peace." The offer was just "part of a checklist from which the president is ticking off...before considering military force," according to Sununu. **218** He gave King Hussein 48 hours to arrive at an "Arab solution." **219** "Basically the president has made up his mind. These are all exercises"—national-security adviser Brent Scowcroft, early December. **220** When Hussein agreed to talks in early December, the president called them off. **221** "I don't care about face. [Saddam] doesn't need any face"—his negotiating stance, December 1990. **222** "We seem to be zigzagging because sometimes it's less a matter of a game plan and more a matter of the president's moods"—a White House official. **223** "I'm not in a negotiating mood"—early December. **224** "I can do two things at once—mind the country's business and then every once in a while play golf"—December 22. **225** "SAHdam doesn't realize that if he doesn't get out, we're going to kick his ass out"—January 1991. **226** "You don't talk to Arabs like they're dogs in the street. You don't say you're going to kick ass"—a Pentagon official. **227** "It's that big. It's that important....Nothing of this moral importance since World War II"—January 2, 1991. **228** "The world could wait no longer"—January 16, ordering the bombing to begin. **229** "If I'm ever in a position to call the shots, I'm not going to rush to send somebody else's kids into a war"—George Bush, *Man of Integrity* (Harvest House, 1988). **230** "To be a great president, you have to have a war. All the great presidents have had their wars"—Admiral Crowe. **231** "We are doing everything possible, and with great success, to minimize collateral damage"—February 5. **232** When the U.S. ran out of purely military targets, it focused on "dual-use" sites, meaning places that might be used for military purposes or collaterally, for something else. **233** On February 13, U.S. bombers killed 288 pieces of collateral in an air-raid shelter. **234** "[Hussein] does not share our value in the sanctity of human life"—a White House spokesman. **235** "All told, Patriot is 41 for 42....Patriot is proof positive that missile defense works"—the president. **236** At best, experts say, the Patriot missiles destroyed one Scud. **237** On February 25, Saddam Hussein ordered his troops into full, immediate retreat. **238** "Too little, too late, fucker!"—a Pentagon aide after hearing Hussein's offer of surrender. **239** The president ordered allied troops to attack the retreating Iraqis. **240** On February 26, U.S. fighters slew Iraqi troops fleeing down Highway 6. **241** "If we let people see that kind of thing, there would never again be any war"—a senior Pentagon official, explaining why they refused to release video footage of fleeing Iraqi soldiers being sliced in half by helicopter cannon fire. **242** "The whole campaign was designed on one theme: to destroy the Republican Guard"—a senior Army officer. **243** Four and a half divisions of the Iraqi Republican Guard were able to escape. **244** Iraq survived with 45 percent of its tanks. **245** And 39 percent of its artillery. **246** And 51 percent of its aircraft. **247** "Hey, hey, nihoma. Hey, yeah, yeah. Heil, heil—a kind of Hitler salute"—waving to fans, March 1992. **248** "Frankly...we could have completely closed the door"—General Schwarzkopf, March 27. **249** "Go ask him. He didn't say that"—the president's response. **250** "Remember, when Hitler's war ended, there were the Nuremberg trials"—October 1990. **251** "You can count on it"—on Iraqi-war-crimes trials, January 1991. **252** "We have to just wait and see"—on when the war-crimes trials would start, March 1991. **253** "The most important thing is to get Saddam Hussein out of there....Well, as far as pressing charges, we'd be willing to get him out"—April 1991. **254** "Asking when he'll be overthrown is like asking when the economy's coming back"—an aide. **255** The emir of Kuwait prepared for his return by declaring martial law. **256** In April he announced he would hold elections "during the coming year, God willing." **257** Four hundred workers labored 16 hours a day restoring the emir's palace. **258** They were assisted by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. **259** "We went halfway around the world...[to] lift the yoke of tyranny and aggression from a small country"—March 18, 1991. **260** Between 400 and 1,000 Palestinians in Kuwait were killed. **261** "I can understand there's a lot of bitterness"—June 1991. **262** In February he called on "the Iraqi people to take matters into their own hands." On March 2, Shiite rebels and Kurds did just that, and within a month the vanquished Iraqi army had reportedly killed 40,000 of them. **263** "Bush urged us to revolt....So why won't he help us?"—a Kurdish woman. **264** "There are tens of thousands, if not millions, of refugees...and Bush does nothing"—a Kurdish man. **265** A spokesman said, "We don't intend to involve ourselves in the internal conflict in Iraq." **266** A confidant said, "The president isn't losing any sleep over this."

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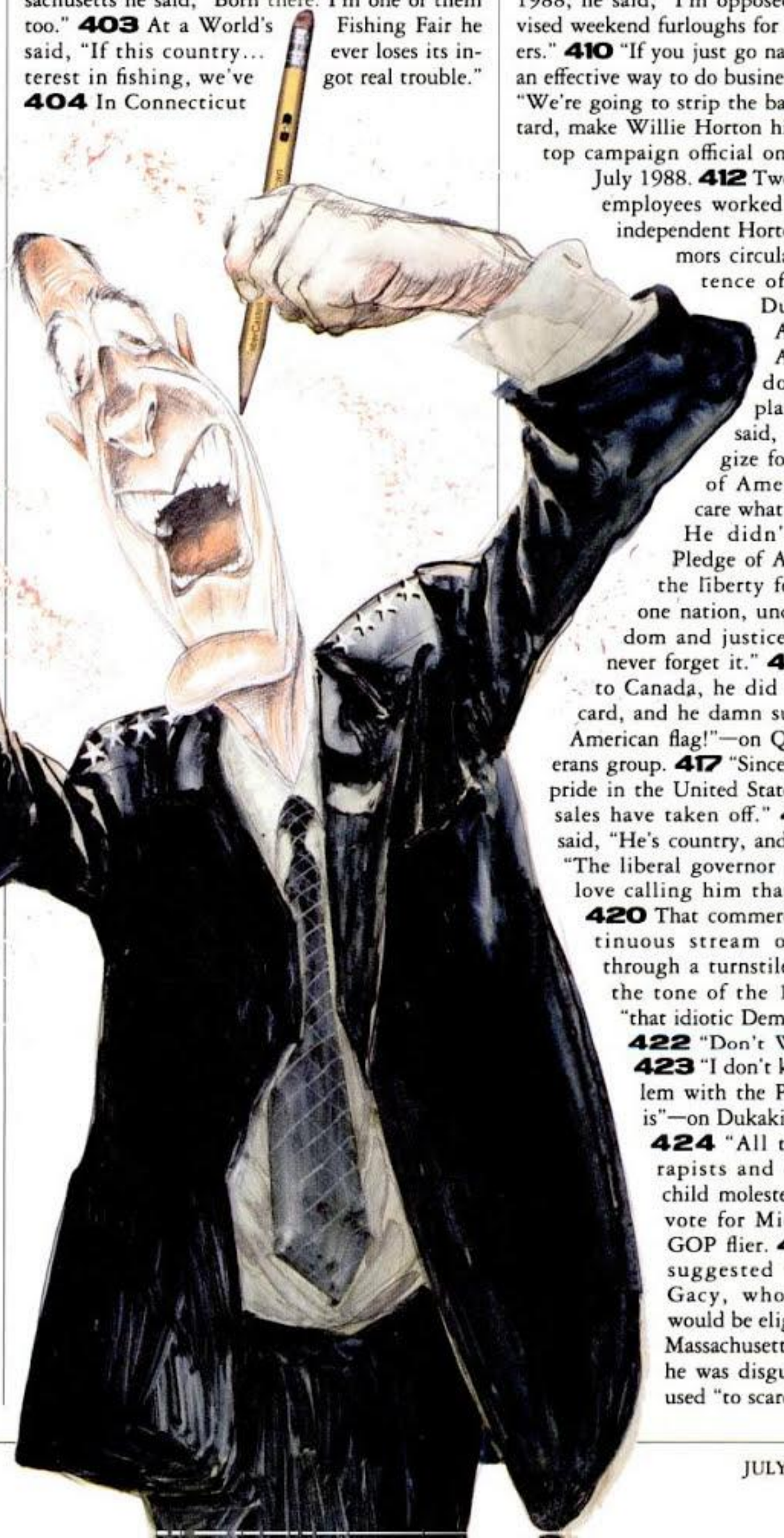
267 In fact, he went fishing. **268** "Keep the war alive"—a White House official, describing the president's 1992 re-election strategy. **269** One hundred forty-eight U.S. soldiers were killed in the Gulf War. **270** The Geneva Convention bans attacking defenseless soldiers; when hundreds of Iraqi soldiers dropped their guns and ran away, U.S. jets attacked them. **271** The Geneva Convention states that troop surrender must be accepted promptly. After trying to surrender, hundreds of Iraqi soldiers were bulldozed in their trenches. **272** The U.S. has refused to say where those Iraqi soldiers were buried alive. The Geneva Convention requires the disclosure of such information. **273** The Pentagon said that "some in the postconflict environment" have called these incidents war crimes. **274** Estimates of Iraqi casualties have run as high as 400,000. **275** Seventy percent of the 142,000 tons of bombs the U.S. dropped missed their targets. **276** According to the UN, the result has been "near apocalyptic." **277** "There are going to be parades all over the country we can plug into"—a White House campaign official. **278** Iraq's nuclear capability was far from destroyed. **279** He called Saddam Hussein "Hitler revisited" and "worse than Hitler." **280** "I didn't say the Holocaust. I mean, that is outrageous"—when challenged on the analogy. **281** As a result of the war, Yoko Ono and Lenny Kravitz covered "Give Peace a Chance." **282** Also, the invasion spoiled the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame induction ceremony. **283** He still has no energy policy. **284** Saddam Hussein remains in power. **285** "There will not be a murky ending"—November 30, 1990. **286** He doesn't care if people kill one another in countries without oil—say, Yugoslavia. **287** "Little Weiner Countries"—what he calls Third World nations without oil. **288** In April 1989 he said, "Think of deficit reduction as an exercise, like walking the dog every day." **289** In February 1991 he said, "We're operating at a three-hundred-and-some-jillion-dollar deficit." **290** He also said, "The deficit will be virtually eliminated by 1995." **291** A year later his people estimated the deficit for fiscal 1992 at $399 billion. **292** The projected deficit for 1997 is $200-billion. **293** The government is losing $1 billion a day. **295** "The little brown ones." **296** "Deep doo-doo." **297** He calls the VCR the V. **298** Many questions have been raised about Zapata Offshore, the oil company he was involved in from 1956 to '64, including questions about shady business partners. **299** And loans. **300** And possible violations of the law. **301** All SEC filings for Zapata from 1960 through '66 were "inadvertently destroyed" in 1981. **302** Similar questions have been raised about Permargo, a Mexican company he set up in 1960. **303** He went to Texas to make it on his own—with a $300,000 stake from his family. **304** "No net loss of wetlands"—December 1989. The next day, he halted a landmark wetlands-protection agreement after oil companies complained. **305** WETLANDS PACT DELAYED AGAIN; BUSH CAMPAIGN PLEDGE REMAINS UNFULFILLED—*The Washington Post*, January 13, 1990. **306** In August 1991 he officially removed 30 million acres from federal wetlands protection simply by calling them something else. **307** An aide said the timing was lucky, since most environmentalists "were backpacking when we broke the news." **308** Clarence Thomas. **309** Arlen Specter. **310** Alan Simpson. **311** Orrin Hatch. **312** The Justice Department dweebs who did the Lexis search for Long Dong Silver. **313** John Doggett. **314** "It's a lie"; "That's all I need to know"—a leaked exchange between Supreme Court nominee Thomas and the president. **315** In November 1991 the Supreme Court upheld a stay of execution for a retarded Texas man because the man originally arrested with the murder weapon had confessed to the crime. Justice Thomas voted in the ultraconservative minority. **316** In March 1992 the Court ruled overwhelmingly in favor of a prisoner who cried cruel and unusual punishment after being repeatedly punched in the face by guards while their supervisor stood by telling them not to have "too much fun." Justice Thomas voted in the ultraconservative minority, which included just himself and Justice Scalia. **317** In April 1992 the Court reversed the conviction of a man who claimed the federal government had lured him into ordering *Boys Who Love Boys*, a pornographic book. Justice Thomas voted in the majority. **318** U.S. arms sales to Third World countries have increased 138 percent since 1989. **319** Two of America's biggest export industries are entertainment and arms. **320** In May 1991 he called on Russia, Great Britain, France and China to limit sales of "destabilizing" weapons to Middle Eastern countries. **321** He has sold the Gulf States billions of dollars' worth of weapons the U.S. describes as "good for launching surprise attacks and...large-scale offensive actions." **322** "[John Sununu] has my full confidence"—after Sununu's use of military jets for personal trips was revealed. **323** "You shouldn't be judged by appearance. You ought to be judged by fact"—after Sununu's limo trip. **324** "Yeah, I'm going to support him"—after Sununu had not made a full disclosure and had blamed his troubles on the Jews. **325** "He'd have to knock over a bank, I guess"—a White House official on what Sununu would have to do to get in trouble. **326** He fired Sununu because Sununu had been telling right-wingers the president was dangerous. **327** His drug czar considered beheading drug dealers. **328** In 1986 he asked the Jordanian Army chief of staff, "Tell me, General, how dead is the Dead Sea?" **329** He made a great show of inviting congressmen upstairs in the White House. **330** He liked *Jake and the Fatman*. **331** He advocated the use of nuclear weapons in Vietnam. **332** The U.S. is "not a great example to us"—from an editorial in *The Citizen* (South Africa), May 2, 1992. **333** "We [Reagan and Bush] have had triumphs, we have made mistakes, we have had sex"—May 1988. **334** He asked a recovering drug addict, "Did you go through a withdrawal thing?" **335** One in ten Americans is on food stamps. **336** Brent Scowcroft was hired from Kissinger Associates. **337** So was Bush's deputy secretary of State, Lawrence Eagleburger. **338** Bush said, "I expect from time to time to be reaching out to [Kissinger]." **339** He nominated John Tower, who had certain personal and ethical failings, for secretary of Defense. **340** Tower led the Tower Commission, which concluded that Bush was "noteworthy more for his absence than his involvement" in the Iran-contra affair. **341** Scowcroft was also on the Tower Commission. **342** He first became president of the United States at 11:30 a.m. on July 13, 1985, when Ronald Reagan was put under anesthesia, and he played tennis like Carter. **343** And hit his head like Ford. **344** And took a nap like Reagan. **345** Two-thirds of his appointments for ambassadorships have had no former experience in the foreign service. **346** Several had given more than $100,000 to the Republican Party. **347** The U.S. ranks thirteenth among industrial countries in spending on K–12 education. **348** A survey of 650 elementary school principals in late 1991 found that three-quarters had had their budgets cut. **349** Two out of five had had to let teachers go. **350** Half had cut back on music, art and gifted-student programs. **351** And four out of five had eliminated field trips. **352** What ever happened to the New World Order, anyway? **353** In May 1992 he vetoed a Democratic campaign-reform bill because he opposes public financing of elections. **354** By the end of the 1992 election, he will have received more than $200 million in federal matching funds. **355** On May 21, 1989, he told the Chinese dissidents, "Fight for what you believe in, stand up for what you believe in." **356** Nine days later he waived trade restrictions against the People's Republic of China. **357** "I think perhaps this is a time for caution"—during the demonstrations. **358** The day after the Tiananmen Square massacre he said, "This is not the time for an emotional response." **359** The next day, he told a group of U.S. businessmen, "I don't want to disturb [U.S. businesses with ties in China]." Months later his brother Prescott said, "There are big opportunities in China." **360** "I don't think we ought to judge the whole People's Liberation Army by that terrible incident"—four days after Tiananmen. **361** He vetoed a bill that would have allowed Chinese students to remain in the U.S. after their visas expired. **362** And accused Congress of micromanaging foreign policy. **363** "I maintain to this day that the executive order that I signed and put into effect did more than the legislation...would have done." **364** "I put in effect an executive order that's broader than the legislation that was so touted"—February 1990. **365** "The approach I took, accomplishing something by executive order that the Congress wanted to do dramatically later on through legislation, was the proper approach"—mid-March. **366** There

NO 294 Last February, after the State of the Union Address, Bush's deputy chief of staff said, "Just let it be clear, by God, we don't think the president's economic plan is a gimmick."

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№370 On the July 4 after the Tiananmen Square massacre, Brent Scowcroft toasted Deng Xiaoping, saying, "President Bush still regards you as a friend. A friend forever."

was no executive order. "An executive order is not the right tool," his spokesman explained. **367** He sent Nixon to China. **368** He violated his own ban on high-level contacts with the Chinese. **369** China has been exporting goods to the U.S. that are produced in forced-labor camps. **371** "In both our societies, there are voices of those who seek to redirect or frustrate our cooperation. We must both take bold measures to overcome these negative forces"—Scowcroft toasting the Chinese, December 1989. **372** In December 1989 he approved the sale of three communications satellites to China for $300 million. **373** One of the companies that benefited most from this sale had hired Prescott as a consultant after the Tiananmen Square massacre and paid him $250,000. **374** Bush said of his China-policy critics, "Using this fantastically, diabolically anti-me language...let them just stay tuned in." **375** In May 1990 he said he would renew most-favored-nation status for China. **376** On June 4, 1990, the first anniversary of Tiananmen Square, he treated his family to dinner at the Peking Gourmet in D.C. **377** In April 1991 an aide said the president was "resigned to the fact there isn't going to be any progress." **378** The aide also said, "Unfortunately, there is not much we can do about it." **379** He gave Li Peng, the butcher of Tiananmen, world stature by meeting with him. **380** He tried to call "as little attention as possible" to this meeting, according to an aide. **381** "We aren't going to remake the world"—around the same time. **382** U.S. LIFTING SANCTIONS ON CHINA SALES—*L.A. Times*, February 22, 1992. **383** "I'll tell you one of the criticisms that gets to me a little...the idea that I don't care about human rights." **384** In 1992, China stepped up production of Hula Hoops. **385** "I have absolute confidence as to his integrity"—on Nixon, during Watergate. **386** As head of the Republican National Committee, he tried to groundlessly besmirch the reputation of a top Watergate investigator. **387** A secret Nixon campaign fund gave Bush $106,000 for his 1970 Senate race. **388** He asked Nixon to personally lobby the Senate on his behalf on the student-visa bill. **389** No one had allowed Nixon to be directly involved in government in the past 15 years. **390** *Bushushita*: Japanese, "to vomit." **391** Before his 1989 summer vacation, he vowed to "wrestle with some of those domestic problems." **392** So he ordered a $400-billion manned mission to Mars. **393** He appointed the VP to handle the project, because "he's a young man, knows how to dream still." **394** He brags about loyalty, but he didn't go to Lee Atwater's funeral. **395** He referred to his wife as "a blimp" on TV. **396** His heart is probably in much worse shape than we've been told. **397** Nixon said his 1988 campaign was "trivial, superficial and inane." **398** Campaigning in New Hampshire in 1988, he said, "I'm one of you." **399** To Evangelicals he said, "I believe in Jesus Christ as my personal savior. Always will." **400** Dressed like a cowboy at a Houston livestock show, he said, "Ahm one of y'all." **401** At an Italian-American festival he said, "*Muchissimo grazie.*" **402** Of Massachusetts he said, "Born there. I'm one of them too." **403** At a World's Fishing Fair he said, "If this country... ever loses its interest in fishing, we've got real trouble." **404** In Connecticut he said, "I think it might be kind of nice to have a Connecticut kid in the White House." **405** He has said, "My heartbeat is the Texas heartbeat." **406** "Message: I care." **407** On January 17, 1992, he unveiled his brand-new Job Training 2000 Act in Georgia. On April 14 he unveiled his brand new Job Training 2000 Act in Michigan. **408** The Job Training 2000 Act would not increase the money already spent on job training. **409** Asked whether the Pledge of Allegiance would be his only campaign issue in 1988, he said, "I'm opposed to these unsupervised weekend furloughs for first-degree murderers." **410** "If you just go nasty, go ugly, it isn't an effective way to do business"—July 1988. **411** "We're going to strip the bark off the little bastard, make Willie Horton his running mate"—a top campaign official on Michael Dukakis, July 1988. **412** Two recent Roger Ailes employees worked on the supposedly independent Horton TV ad. **413** Rumors circulated about the existence of a photo of Kitty Dukakis burning the American flag. **414** After the U.S. shot down an Iranian plane, killing 290, he said, "I will never apologize for the United States of America, ever. I don't care what the facts are." **415** He didn't even know the Pledge of Allegiance: "'And to the liberty for which it stands, one nation, under God, with freedom and justice for all.' And let's never forget it." **416** "He did not go to Canada, he did not burn his draft card, and he damn sure didn't burn the American flag!"—on Quayle, before a veterans group. **417** "Since we began restoring pride in the United States of America...flag sales have taken off." **418** Loretta Lynn said, "He's country, and I love him." **419** "The liberal governor of Massachusetts, I love calling him that"—October 1988. **420** That commercial showing a continuous stream of convicts going through a turnstile. **421** He blamed the tone of the 1988 campaign on "that idiotic Democratic convention." **422** "Don't Worry, Be Happy." **423** "I don't know what his problem with the Pledge of Allegiance is"—on Dukakis, August 25, 1988. **424** "All the murderers and rapists and drug pushers and child molesters in Massachusetts vote for Michael Dukakis"—a GOP flier. **425** Another flier suggested that John Wayne Gacy, who killed 33 boys, would be eligible for furlough in Massachusetts. **426** Gacy said he was disgusted to see himself used "to scare people into voting



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for George Bush." **427** Bush said, "*Comme ci, comme ça*," to a nine-year-old Hispanic child in Harlem. **428** Asked if he wanted more coffee at a truck stop, he said, "Just a splash." **429** He said, "Do you think Margaret Thatcher would like some of this bonefishing action?" **430** He lobbied for oil drilling in the national wildlife refuge in Alaska. **431** As vice president, he broke ties in the Senate to continue nerve-gas production. **432** Campaigning in 1988, he said he wanted to ban chemical and biological weapons. **433** In 1991, hate crimes against Jews, Arabs, Asians and gays were all up considerably. **434** George Jr. sold $850,000 of stock in a company a week before it reported devastating quarterly earnings. He was on a committee investigating the company's earnings. **435** George Jr. failed to report this to the SEC for eight months. **436** George Jr. said the paperwork was misplaced. **437** George Jr. threatened to beat up Garry Trudeau. **438** George Jr. shows up every time Nolan Ryan throws a no-hitter. **439** Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis Sullivan was given a list of candidates for agency positions that had been approved by Orrin Hatch. **440** Dick Cheney bounced a lot of checks as a congressman. **441** Cheney said he had warned the president. "I haven't heard a word about that," the president said the same day. **442** Randy Travis's song "Point of Light." **443** Lee Greenwood's "God Bless the USA." **444** Lee Greenwood's "God Bless Canada," written for a meeting with Brian Mulroney. **445** "I'm picking up Bush vibrations/He's the best guy to lead this nation"—the Beach Boys at 1988 Bush rallies. **446** In May 1989 the president called on Panamanian Defense Forces to "do everything they can to get Mr. Noriega out of there." **447** When the coup came, he claimed he hadn't known about it in advance; but the coup leader had telephoned the day before. **448** The president's men then said they couldn't decide whether a message from the rebels said they "won't" turn Noriega over or they "want" to turn him over. **449** Noriega's drug dealing had been known about at least as far back as 1976, when Bush was head of the CIA. **450** In 1976 he discovered that Noriega was working for both the U.S. and Cuba but kept him on the CIA payroll. **451** He said he would "never bargain with a drug dealer." **452** Noriega shot the coup leader personally. **453** "That's not prudent"—the president on why he didn't support the coup. **454** When Panamanian soldiers killed a U.S. Marine at a checkpoint, he used the incident as his excuse for invading, but hundreds of similar skirmishes had occurred, including one in which a U.S. officer had killed a Panamanian. **455** Noriega was receiving $110,000 a year from the CIA. **456** He said he had never met Noriega; shown pictures, he admitted he had perhaps met him once or twice. **457** "Bush had two basic messages for Noriega: We are aware of your unscrupulous activities, and those don't bother us so much. But you must...get firmly behind the contra effort"—a colonel present at one meeting. **458** He was reportedly briefed about Noriega's drug dealing in 1985. **459** Forty paratroopers broke or sprained limbs in the first minutes of the invasion. **460** The Pentagon noted the great success of its $50 million F-117A Stealth fighter. Panama has no effective radar. **461** "The most surgical operation of its size ever carried out"—his secretary of Defense. **462** U.S. troops violated international law by ransacking the Nicaraguan ambassador to Panama's house while looking for Noriega. **463** The president called this a "screwup." **464** "Every human life is precious, and yet I have to answer yes, it has been worth it"—January 1990. **465** Reporters were kept on board ship for the first four hours of the invasion. **466** At a loss, the Army offered a $1-million reward for information leading to Noriega's capture. **467** To replace the murderous Panama Defense Forces, the U.S. installed the new Panama Public Forces, made up largely of former members of the Panama Defense Forces. **469** A U.S. soldier commented, "People were out there looting their asses off....When they saw us, they shouted, 'Viva Bush!'" **470** "Political jackpot!"—his former campaign manager, commenting on the invasion. **471** The invasion violated the charter of the Organization of American States. **472** Twenty-three U.S. soldiers were killed, nine of them by "friendly fire." **473** More than 200 of the 347 U.S. soldiers who were wounded were wounded by other U.S. soldiers. **474** Ten blocks of high-density housing were destroyed by U.S. bombing. **475** While the Red Cross and reporters were kept away, mass graves were dug. **476** Three days after the invasion, a Panamanian man and his wife, who was in labor, sped past a U.S. checkpoint and were shot. **477** The cost of Noriega's conviction: $180 million. **478** "I must say, I'm finishing [my first year] with a bit of a glow"—after the invasion. **479** The amount of cocaine flowing through Panama may have doubled since the invasion. **480** Fascinatingly arcane constitutional provisions will apply if the election goes to the House of Representatives. **481** In 1988 he promised we would be better off four years later if we elected him. **482** He also said he would "make sure that everybody who has a job wants a job." **483** His goal was "30 in eight"—30 million jobs created in eight years. **484** The nation's help-wanted index, a measure of the number of jobs available, fell from 138 in 1985 to 85 in April 1992. **485** "Jobs, jobs, jobs" was the reason Baker gave for why we went to war against Iraq. "Jobs, jobs, jobs" was the reason the president gave for why he went to Japan in 1992. **486** One out of every five Americans was out of a job at some point in 1991. **487** A 1992 survey of 1,024 U.S. companies found that three-quarters of them had "downsized" since 1987. **488** In 1991, 1.43 million jobs were lost. **489** A Harvard study in April 1992 found that people who've lost work are now much less likely to find work than they were in 1983. **490** He is 29,912,000 jobs short of his goal. **491** At his current rate of job production, he will have to remain president until the year 3356 to meet his goal. **492** His daughter married a Gephardt aide; she must know something. **493** He is against broccoli; broccoli prevents cancer. **494** He waffled on the Elvis stamp. **495** He still looks absurd in that Cigarette boat. **496** "Thanks to the AF-of-L–CIA." **497** "I want the record to show that...[Teddy Roosevelt] was an elitist like me." **498** "It's no exaggeration to say that the undecideds could go one way or another." **499** "I'm not sure whether there was equivocation." **500** "I'm for unions. I'm for nonunions." **501** "I'm conservative...but not a nut about it"—August 1984. **502** Floyd Brown, the man behind the Willie Horton ad, has formed a new PAC. **503** "We'll peel the bark off [Bill Clinton]," Brown said. **504** "The caribou like the pipeline. They lean up against it, have a lot of babies, scratch on it"—November 1987. **505** "Nobody's told me the difference between a red squirrel, a black one or a brown one"—Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan. **506** Between 1987 and '92 the number of species in danger of extinction in the U.S. jumped from 451 to 617. **507** Lujan once praised a plan to dye cyanide-laced mining residue before dumping it in the desert to give it a "natural look." **508** In November 1991, Bush opposed a measure that would speed up the phasing-out of ozone-eating chemicals in the U.S. **509** In February 1992, NASA detected high levels of ozone-killing chemicals over the Northern Hemisphere, threatening Kennebunkport. **510** Two days later the Senate passed a chlorofluorocarbon bill, after the president dropped his opposition. **511** He said nothing about the Exxon *Valdez* spill for seven days. **512** Then he said, "So what you do is do the best you can, express the genuine concern you feel for the environment...but not take irresponsible action to guard against incidents of this nature." **513** "Looks pretty good to us. It will not...affect our earnings"—Exxon chairman Lawrence Rawl on the settlement he reached with the Justice Department. **514** Jeb's company sold a personal sewage pump to the emir of Kuwait. **515** Scoring a ringer in horseshoes, the president said, "Mr. Smooth does it again." **516** For the latest reason, call (212) 633-8522. **517** He threatened to veto a crime bill because of handgun-waiting-period provisions. **518** "Obviously, when you see somebody go berserk and get a weapon and go in and murder people, of course it troubles me." **519** "The Cold War is over"—Ronald Reagan, the day he left office. "The Cold War is not over"—Brent Scowcroft, two days later. **520** "So I—but if the—in the—I want to try to avoid words like *Cold War*, but if he..."—the new president's position. **521** GORBACHEV... VOICES IMPATIENCE WITH BUSH'S "PROLONGED" REVIEW OF OPTIONS—*The Washington Post*, April 1989. **522** "We'll be ready to react when we feel like reacting"—a snippy presidential response. **523** The key sentence of his five-month "strategic review" was, "Many dangers

№ 468 The Army reported that when they stormed a hideout of Noriega's, they found 50 pounds of cocaine. This was revised to 50 kilos of cocaine. This was revised to 50 kilos of tamale flour.

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No 548 It took *Richard Nixon*, who warned of the political consequences for whoever "lost Russia," to motivate Bush finally to offer aid to the former USSR. Nixon called the U.S. effort "pathetic."

and uncertainties are ahead." **524** An aide summed it up: "Status quo plus." **525** When Gorbachev withdrew 500 missiles from Europe, Baker called it "politics." **526** When Gorbachev offered to stop sending arms to the Sandinistas, a White House spokesman snapped, "Public-relations gambits." **527** When Gorbachev visited China and espoused liberty, freedom and democracy, Quayle complained, "Gorbachev has stolen our issues." **528** Bush called his own arms-reduction proposal part of "the public-relations battle." **529** He was chagrined when Gorbachev welcomed the proposal. **530** When he awarded Lech Walesa the Medal of Freedom, he called him "Lock." **531** "I'm just not an emotional guy"—watching the Berlin Wall come down. **532** Heading for the summit in Malta, he said, "Is there any fishing over there?" **533** He also said, "I want to do something important, but I don't want to do anything dumb." **534** He made this prediction about the summit: "The surprise will be...there won't be a surprise." **535** He joked about the choppy Maltese waters, "You know these charismatic, macho, visionary guys—they'll do anything." **536** He made this boast: "I'd like to think [Gorbachev] thought I knew what I was talking about." **537** He thought it went well and said, "Grandkids. All of that. Very important." **538** Asked about sending aid to the Soviets in May 1991, he said, "I tried to answer the question as vaguely as possible." **539** "We...do not anticipate his demise in any way"—on Gorbachev, June 1991. **540** When Scowcroft woke him to tell him about the Soviet coup, he said, "My God," and went back to sleep. **541** He issued a statement describing the coup as "extraconstitutional." **542** One of his deputies explained, "We didn't want to put ourselves in a box." **543** He wanted to deal with the coupsters. **544** Asked about aid after the coup, he said, "It's way too early—way too early—to get into that." **545** In November 1991, guards at a Soviet nuclear-missile base left nuclear weapons unguarded to forage for food. **546** While Russia went broke and Bush dithered, Iraq, Libya and Iran made shopping trips to Russia for nuclear technology. **547** "Would I sell my services to a Third World country? Ask again in six months"—the chief scientist at a Russian nuclear facility. **549** The day after the prochoice march on Washington this year, Bush asked the Supreme Court to overturn *Roe* v. *Wade*. **550** "I happen to think it was right"—March 1980, on his earlier support of *Roe* v. *Wade*. **551** "My position hasn't changed. I am, uh, pro—pro—uh, prolife"—April 1992. **552** He used to go to meetings at CIA headquarters in disguise. **553** "The Big Mo'!"—from his 1980 presidential campaign. **554** In 1988, Albert Brooks commented, "George Bush says he hears the quiet people others don't. I have a friend in Los Angeles who hears the quiet people others don't, and he has to take a lot of medication for it." **555** Bush took Halcion. **556** Halcion's side effects include amnesia, confusion, anxiety, hostility, hallucinations, agitation and violence. **557** Before popping a Halcion, Jim Baker says, "Time for a blue bomb." **558** In 1991, Bush started taking five other medications, which also had side effects, for his thyroid problems. **559** He put on a hand puppet and barked, "Woof woof woof," in San Diego. **560** In New Hampshire he said, "I said to them there's another one that the Nitty Ditty Nitty Gritty Great Bird does, and it says if you want to see a rainbow, you've got to stand a little rain." **561** On February 5, 1992, the White House announced that he would no longer be taking Halcion. **562** "Anyone who thinks the war in Iraq grew out of Bush's drug use is crazy"—Hunter S. Thompson, January 1992. **563** He lied about Bob Dole's position on taxes to win the 1988 New Hampshire primary. **564** He wants to increase the Pentagon's advertising budget. **565** Part of his "growth" package was a 90-day moratorium on new rules. So he delayed clean-air rules to enforce the Clean Air Act. **566** He delayed rules designed to protect workers from exposure to toxic chemicals. **567** He postponed deadlines for food producers to put accurate nutritional information on their products. **568** He halted the identification of species that might require protection under the Endangered Species Act. **569** He killed a regulation that would require toymakers to label some toys "choking hazards." **570** He favored the elimination of federal quality standards for nursing homes. **571** Marlin Fitzwater doesn't look at all well. **572** We need a president whom Michael Jordan is willing to meet. **573** He tried to abandon affirmative action in federal hiring. **574** He said that Dan Rather "makes Leslie Stahl look like a pussy." **575** He joked, "Terminator's sort of a pussy," after playing volleyball with Arnold Schwarzenegger. **576** In 1983 his son Neil went into the oil business with two Denver developers; Neil put up $100 to their $160,000. **577** In 1985, Neil became a paid director of Silverado Banking, Savings and Loan; the bank lent Neil's partners $132 million. **578** In 1987 one of the developers forgave a $100,000 loan to Neil. "I know it sounds fishy," Neil said, "but it happens all the time." **579** In 1988 the developers defaulted, and the bank failed. Cost to the taxpayer: $1 billion. **580** In 1989, Neil started a new oil company with a $2.7 million federal loan targeted for "high-risk start-up companies." **581** In 1989, Neil was named in a $200 million federal lawsuit because of Silverado. **582** GOVERNMENT DELAYS DECISION ON ACTING ON BUSH SON'S S&L ROLE—*L.A. Times*, January 1990. **583** Acknowledging that he had got "an incredibly sweet deal," Neil said he saw nothing wrong with what he'd done. **584** Neil was not barred from the S&L industry; he was told not to have a conflict-of-interest problem again. **585** "If the system finds he's done something wrong, he will be the first to step up and do what's right"—July 1990. **586** "Bullshit. They wouldn't be after me if I wasn't the president's son"—Neil's denial that he was being protected. **587** In July 1991, Neil started working for a cable-TV mogul who had recently written Neil's dad, "It is my hope that your administration would take a strong stand against reregulation



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[of the cable industry]." **588** "He's probably the most sensitive of our four boys—maybe second-most sensitive." **589** Neil was eliminated from a tennis tournament in Denver in 1991 for cheating. **590** In 1933, Prescott Sr. led an Army raid on a sacred Indian burial site in order to secure Geronimo's skull for Skull and Bones. **591** Jennifer. **592** "Whine on, harvest moon"—Bush's response to Geraldine Ferraro during their 1988 debate. **593** After the debate, he said to a longshoreman, "We tried to kick a little ass last night!" **594** In June 1989 he said, "Everything I did last year was for the purpose of advancing my—everything I did politically—advancing my election. And of course I'm not going to say that." **595** Defending his 1988 campaign, he said, "I was elected." **596** Referring to the 1988 campaign, he said, "That's history." **597** Puritanical antisex activist Constance Horner became an HHS undersecretary. **598** Rabid prolifer James O. Mason became assistant secretary of Health. **599** Bush was the drug czar as vice president, during which time cocaine became ten times more plentiful. **600** In 1988 he promised to "mount a comprehensive effort to reduce the cost of health care in America." **601** "The best prescription for better health in America is a strong, daily dose of personal responsibility"—February 1990. **602** His $100 billion health-care plan, announced this year, involved giving poor people vouchers to buy private health insurance at some point in the future when it is cheaper. **603** "We'll figure it out"—on how to pay for the plan. **604** The funds would come from Medicare and Medicaid. **605** He called Medicare "socialized medicine" in 1964. **606** He didn't submit his health-care plan after all. **607** BUSH PLAN TO FIGHT INFANT DEATHS WOULD USE MONEY GOING TO POOR—the *Times*, February 7, 1991. **608** He did not intervene when the democratically elected government of Haiti was overthrown in 1991. **609** He argued that Haitian boat people were fleeing poverty, not persecution, and so shouldn't be admitted. **610** DEMOCRACY PUSH IN HAITI BLUNTED, LEADERS OF COUP GLEEFUL AFTER U.S. LOOSENS ITS EMBARGO AND RETURNS REFUGEES—the *Times*. **611** He loosened the embargo after complaints by U.S. manufacturers who depend on cheap Haitian labor. **612** "From now on in America, 'There's no room at the inn'—that's simply not an acceptable answer"—Christmas 1989. **613** In May 1992 he insisted that Haitian refugees be immediately returned to Haiti. **614** NBC News juxtaposed images of him playing golf and dead Haitians. **615** His drug program reduced allocations of drug-fighting money to 23 states. **616** It set highly unrealistic goals as well. **617** If the programs failed, his aides were prepared to blame state and local officials. "We have an out," one said. **618** "I have no policy on that"—on corporate takeovers and mounting corporate debt, January 1990. **619** The White House had known the S&Ls were in trouble since 1985 but didn't want to do anything that would add to the deficit. **620** He loves giving out exploding wallets as gags. **621** Vanishing dollar bills too. **622** He vetoed the Family and Medical Leave Act. **623** "We also need to assure that women don't have to worry about getting their jobs back after having a child"—campaigning in 1988. **624** Parents who could not get unpaid leave "should look for other jobs," a spokesman said. **625** Janet. **626** Two dozen CIA officials offered to testify against CIA chief–nominee Robert Gates, charging he had helped shift the agency's mission from intelligence gathering to lobbying for more defense spending. **627** They also said he'd cooked a report to make it appear as if the Soviets had shot the pope. **628** And another report to suggest that Gorbachev was only faking his reforms. **629** And another report to indicate that the Iranians we sent arms to were moderates. **630** U.S. TO FOCUS ON SALVADOR RIGHTS ISSUE; DEMOCRATS TO MONITOR NEW REGIME; BUSH WILL "WAIT AND SEE"—*L.A. Times*, March 1989. **631** "Well, there's been dramatic progress"—three weeks before death squads killed six priests in El Salvador. **632** In 1988 he said that "most" of the homeless were mentally ill. **633** From 1989 to '91, he spent 75 cents to build new public housing for every dollar he spent to build new prisons. **634** In 1993 he plans to spend no money on public housing. **635** "Keep playing with the same toys. But let's paint them a little shinier"—a domestic-policy adviser. **636** "[The caribou]'re all making love lying up against the pipeline"—October 1991. **637** Dana Carvey needs new material. **638** His nickname is Poppy. **639** What was that dawn walk with Bar to look at cherry blossoms all about? **640** He would fit in so well with other one-term presidents—Carter, James Buchanan, et al. **641** "What I said back then—well, it's hard to find. Number one, I didn't say it"—on calling Reagan's policies "voodoo economics" during the 1980 primaries. NBC rebroadcast the tape. **642** The sooner he's gone, the less likely your kid's school will be named for him. **643** No. 24 on *Sassy*'s list of "37 Things You Can Do to Turn Burning Love Into a Living Hell": "Vote for George Bush." **644** "He has a philosophy. We just don't know what it is"—an aide. **645** "We finally get a policy-making body, but we have no policy to make"—another aide, March 1992. **646** The same month, still another aide said, "[We're] running around like chickens with their head cut off." **647** Measles, mumps and rubella have reached epidemic levels among U.S. children for the first time in three decades. **648** "A society that fails to protect its most valuable members from harm suffers untold losses itself"—on Child Health Day, October 2, 1989. **649** When cattlemen complained, he delayed introduction of the FDA's new food pyramid. **650** Jane. **651** Kuwait, Crime and Quotas—what his 1992 campaign advisers called "the KKK strategy." **652** He told Congress he would accept a surcharge on millionaires, and that he would *not* accept a surcharge on millionaires. **653** "Read my hips"—when reporters asked which one it was. **654** "I have no idea what White House statement was issued, but I stand behind it 100 percent"—his budget director. **655** "Read my lips: no new taxes!"—August 1988. **656** "I'd like it to be a four-year pledge"—January 1989. **657** "For the time being, let's assume forever"—his budget director on how long the pledge was good for, July 1989. **658** In May 1990, he called Congress to a budget summit with "no preconditions." **659** He wanted to proceed "unfettered with conclusions about positions taken in the past." **660** "Tax revenue increases"—June 26, 1990. **661** "I'm not changing my view on taxes"—June 30. **662** He told reporters, "You've got to read all the tea leaves and listen to the nuances." **663** The budget negotiations went on for four months. **664** On October 6, 1990, the government had to shut down for the day. **665** Visitors to national parks that Columbus Day weekend discovered that the toilets were all closed. **666** The White House staff had to take its limousines to a local car wash. **667** Finally, on October 27, 1990, he officially raised taxes. **668** His budget proposal for 1991 called for $28 billion in new taxes and fees. **669** Then he promised to "hold the line" on taxes. **670** Then he blamed the Democrats. **671** "If I had to do it over, I wouldn't do what I did then, for a lot of reasons, including political reasons"—March 1992. **672** "Life means nothing without fidelity to principles"—on the campaign trail a few days later. **673** "You die, I fly"—his job description as vice president. **675** His chief contribution to the Reagan Revolution was to tell the president a joke every day. **676** Sample joke: Tarzan comes home pooped and says to Jane, "It's a jungle out there." **677** "I didn't sit there at [Reagan's] side and say 'Yeah' to every cockamamy idea"—Al Haig, comparing himself with Bush. **678** "My position is like Ronald Reagan's. Put that down. Mark that down. Good. You got it"—Bush as VP. **679** "Make no mistake about it, this president is in charge. He is in touch"—Bush on Reagan. **680** "[Bush] has the look about him of someone who might sit up and yip for a dog yummie"—columnist Mike Royko. **681** "The attempt to tear down our president's leadership with the knowledge of the issues has not failed"—Bush on Reagan. **682** "Nobody has to say it's a tremendous 100,000 percent success"—Bush on Reagan's Middle East policy, after a truck bomb killed 260 Marines. **683** "I'm for Mr. Reagan—blindly." **684** His brother Jonathan called him "a real, real teacher's pet." **685** Asked about what policies his vice president had helped develop, Reagan said, "I can't answer in that context." **686** "Fight like heck for what you believe in here"—the president to students at a 1992 campaign stop. **687** Clayton Yeutter? **688** "Hoover looks better today than he did 40 years ago, doesn't he?" **689** DESPITE GRIP ON NOMINATION, BUSH STILL GROPES FOR AGENDA—the *Times*, April 1992. **690** "[He] wants to know why can't he have initiatives to present to the

No 674 Describing his own reputation as VP, he said, "Wimp. Sycophant. Lapdog. Poop. Lightweight. Boob. Squirrel. Asshole. George Bush." This was intended to lift Dan Quayle's spirits.

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№743 His Public Health Service director was particularly opposed to giving marijuana therapeutically to AIDS patients, afraid they'd get all hopped up and then have unsafe sex.

public"—a GOP strategist, April 1992. **691** "What we need is a good strategic thinker, and we don't have one"—a White House official, 1989. **692** "The difference is that Reagan had principles and beliefs. This guy has no rudder"—a senior GOP strategist, 1990. **693** The number of contributors to the Republican Party has fallen 50 percent, to 1.1 million, since 1988. **694** The party's most recent annual renewal request, personally signed by the president, lost $700,000. **695** "He is a borderline incompetent, if not incompetent"—the head of the Heritage Foundation, 1992. **696** The sound Bush makes at conservative gatherings "is a thin, tinny 'arf'"—George Will, 1986. **697** "Bush skitters like a waterbug on the surface of things...moving fast lest he linger so long that he is expected to show a mastery of, or even a real interest in, anything"—Will, 1988. **698** "George Bush says, 'I am an environmentalist.' That statement is as vacuous as any statement that can be constructed from four English words"—Will, 1988. **699** "Bush seems to be a bystander watching to see who Bush turns out to be"—Will, 1989. **700** "When you don't know where you're going, any gust of wind will get you there"—Will on Bush's foreign policy, 1989. **701** "Bush so loves the flag he wraps himself in it, like Linus..." **702** "...and so loves the Constitution he overflows with ideas for improving it"—Will, 1990. **703** "Ideologically, Bush is a stammering cipher"—Will, 1992. **704** "If ever there was a 'point of light'...I'm it"—Jerry Lewis. **705** In 1988 a campaign aide, Fred Malek, resigned when the media pointed out that he had compiled the names of possibly cabalistic Jews working in the Bureau of Labor Statistics during the Nixon administration. **706** Fred Malek is the manager of the president's 1992 reelection campaign. **707** In 1988 another campaign worker was let go after repeated assertions that the Holocaust never happened. **708** Several members of his Coalition of American Nationalities resigned when it was discovered that they had ties to pro-Nazi and fascist organizations. **709** In September 1991 he described himself as "one lonely little guy down there" on Capitol Hill, surrounded by pro-Israeli lobbyists. **710** In 1983 the then vice president met with a Ukrainian leader who'd overseen the extermination of 100,000 Jews during World War II. **711** Bush presented him with an autographed picture. **712** We don't want to hear any more about what good pals he is with Dan Rostenkowski. **713** "The thyroid is connected to the heart bone, and I think it's going to be all right." **714** "If anybody figures that out, call me"—on the movie *Field of Dreams*. **715** "You're talking about yourself too much"—his mother, during his 1988 campaign. **716** In his 1992 State of the Union address, he referred to himself—"I," "me," "my," "myself"—128 times. **717** He claims to have a "neat feeling" for his sister. **718** In 1938, Prescott Sr.'s Wall Street investment firm set up a deal to lend tetraethyl lead to the Luftwaffe. **719** In 1942, three companies Prescott Sr. was involved in were seized under the Trading With the Enemy Act. **720** A former senator from Connecticut, Prescott Sr. used his connections to help get his son George elected to Congress in 1966. **721** Calling in a favor, Prescott Sr. got him appointed to the powerful House Ways and Means Committee. **722** George was too scared ever to express disagreement with his father. **723** He spent only two terms in the House. **724** He was foolish to give up his seat and run for the Senate in 1970, losing to Lloyd Bentsen. **725** He is to blame for Lloyd Bentsen. **726** Helen. **727** He spent only 12 months as CIA director. **728** He spent only 13 months as ambassador to China. **729** He spent only 21 months as head of the Republican Party. **730** He was head of the Republican Party during Watergate. **731** He was head of the Republican Party. **732** He plays tiddlywinks to win. **733** His mother usually beats him. **734** "We'll...make the label MADE IN AMERICA the symbol of quality and durability all over the world"—Michael Dukakis, September 1988. "A better America, where MADE IN AMERICA is recognized around the world as a symbol of quality and progress"—George Bush, January 1990. **735** It's time to let the GOP's Buchanan era get started. **736** "You've got right-wing politics taking precedence over everything else"—an HHS nominee withdrawing his name, 1989. **737** "If [my view on abortion] is all you want to know, I'm not your man"—a nominee for director of the National Institutes of Health. **738** He forced out Surgeon General C. Everett Koop because Koop had mentioned condoms in public. **739** And because Koop had failed to find evidence that abortions caused irreparable damage to the women who received them. **740** And because Koop would not lie about these findings. **741** He sent Koop a letter asking him for his "department, position and expertise." **742** He replaced Koop with a former aide to Orrin Hatch. **744** "Would I be a good president? I'd be crackerjack!"—1980. **745** In June 1989 he told businessmen he would not seek burdensome environmental standards. **746** Earlier that day he'd told an ecology group that the threat to the environment was a "freight train coming down the track." **747** "There won't be any going out there and telling 'em what they want to hear in one place and just the opposite someplace else"—1979. **748** At the request of his vice president, whose family owns a paper mill, he had a recycling provision removed from the Clean Air Act. **749** One of his vice president's top aides made adjustments to the act's section on sulfur-dioxide emissions at the request of a company the aide owned stock in. **750** Throughout the process of making the bill law, the president's people fought against tougher controls on urban smog. **751** And on ozone-depleting chlorofluorocarbons. **752** And they lobbied against a proposal to make gasoline cleaner. **753** To demonstrate that his environmental presidency was not a hollow facade, he went on a ten-day, three-state tree-planting field trip. **754** He transplanted an elm from the White House to North Dakota, bringing North Dakota's first gypsy moths along with it. **755** BUSH WEAKENS CLEAN AIR PROPOSAL—*The Washington Post*. **756** He has broken the Clean Air Act 35 times by failing to issue regulations designed to implement it. **757** He said he would relax Clean Air Act controls on power plants. **758** He cites the Clean Air Act as his main environmental accomplishment. **759** He told auto executives he would exempt them from



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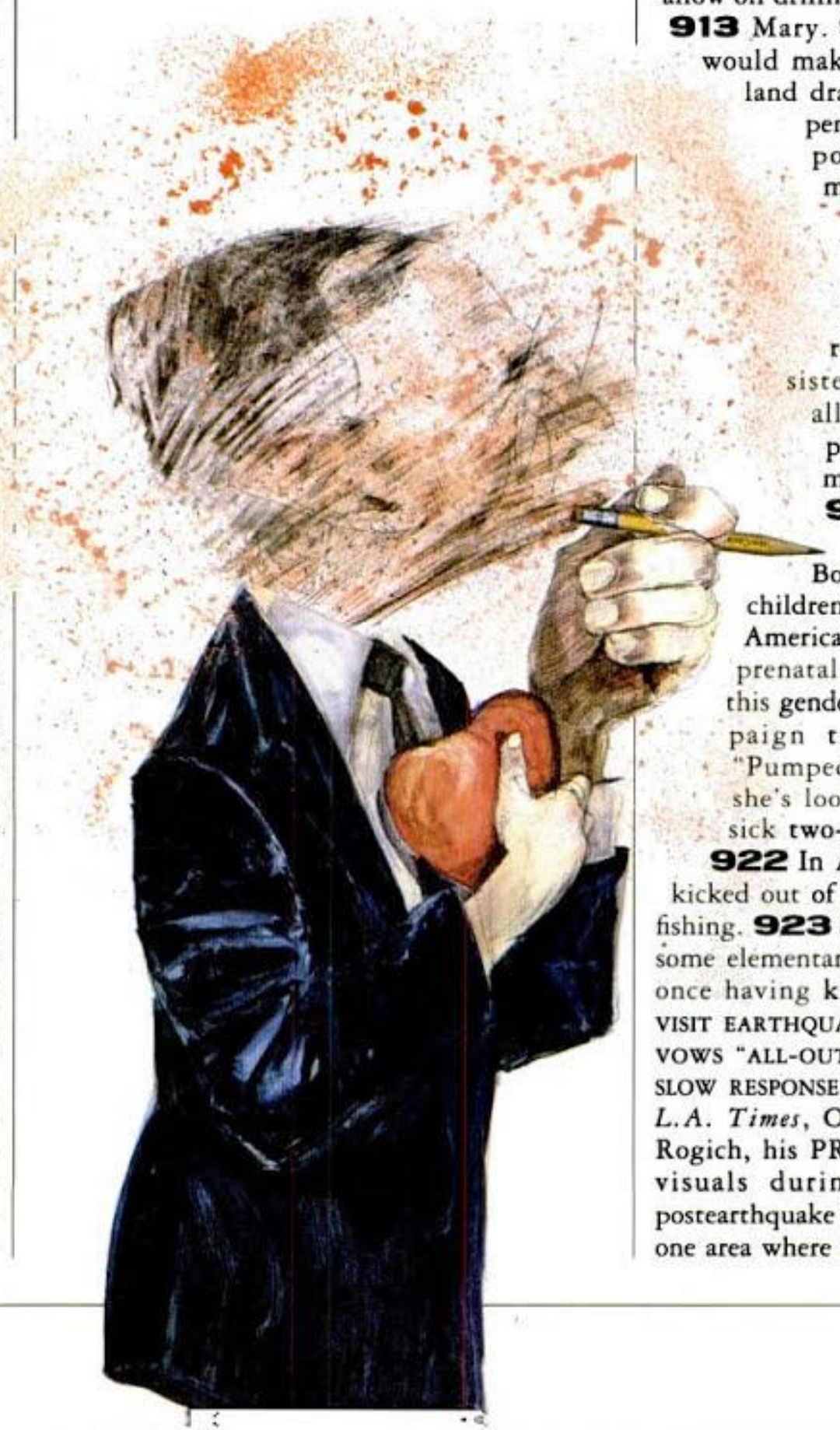
the act's benzene-emission controls. Benzene causes cancer. **760** BUSH TO RELAX AIR POLLUTION STANDARDS—the *Times*, May 18, 1992. **761** He would allow companies to privately petition the government to loosen controls so that they might avoid public censure. **762** "Yes, we want to see that furry-feathered guy protected and all that"—on the spotted owl, January 1992. **763** The sooner he goes, the better he looks in retrospect. **764** His favorite tennis player is Pam Shriver. **765** He dislikes *The Simpsons*. **766** His voice. **767** His smile. **768** His glasses. **769** Millie. **770** "As you know, I planned a trip out there for some time, so it fits in very nicely"—on his trip to Los Angeles after the riots. **771** "And if I said a year ago that these [social] programs weren't working, perhaps I have been vindicated"—on how Lyndon Johnson was to blame. **772** "Damn storm knocked down four or five walls"—comparing South-Central L.A. to his house in Maine after a hurricane. **773** "Weed and seed"—the theory behind giving L.A. $19 million to rebuild. **774** As director of the CIA, he gave confidential briefings to Brown Brothers, Harriman—his father's firm. **775** And to Chase Manhattan. **776** "I know we're in hard times. But I know something else. This will not stand"—his 1992 State of the Union address. **777** He said that "one thing we can do right away" was a $500 tax exemption per child, but he dropped the idea days later. **778** He changed the tax-withholding table so that in the short term the average taxpayer would receive an extra 96 cents a day. **779** He proposed eliminating the 10 percent luxury tax. **780** He reproposed cutting the capital-gains tax, putting $11 into the pocket of the average middle-class taxpayer. **781** "Get this passed; later on we can all debate it"—his challenge to Congress. **782** When his campaign chairman, Robert Mosbacher, met with gay leaders, the White House instantly issued a statement describing the meeting as a "personal decision" undertaken by Mosbacher "for the sake of his daughter," who is a lesbian activist. **783** Pat Buchanan decried this "official summit"; soon after, Dan Quayle ate at a restaurant in Tennessee notorious for not hiring homosexuals. **784** Bush's pal Schwarzenegger called the Democratic presidential candidates—one of whom had won the Medal of Honor—"a bunch of girly-men." **785** He has never mentioned gay rights in a speech. **786** Zapata Oil suddenly did much better after he left. **787** He gave Armand Hammer a presidential pardon. **788** He is just such a fucking twit. **789** One out of six U.S. pediatricians has treated a child with a bullet wound. **790** The most common cause of death for young black men is now murder. **791** Firearm deaths in Texas have now surpassed motor-vehicle deaths. **792** When he decided to campaign less this year, he referred to this as his "governing strategy." **793** In the 1950s he lived in a house that he agreed not to sell to black people. **794** In 1981 he bought property in Houston with a covenant that the land could not be "sold, leased or rented to any person other than that of Caucasian race." **795** "I've always felt the need to stand for fair play and against bigotry....I'm not sure that that means reaching some legislative agenda"—January 1989. **797** During an interview with Dan Rather in 1988, he patted Bar on the ass. **798** "I'm headed back to D.C. to see my dog and my wife....May I make a correction here?"—January 1992. **799** "When they talk about taxing the rich, they're really talking about taxing the working men and women of this country"—November 1990. **800** He is a millionaire. **801** From 1956 to '61, his company, Zapata Oil, paid no taxes. **802** He boasted about it in his annual report. **803** A 1984 audit determined that he owed $198,000 in back taxes and penalties for 1981. **804** He complained that he had been "taken to the cleaners." **805** Asked why he'd waited until October to reveal the audit, he replied, "You didn't ask me about it." **806** In 1990 he had to amend his tax returns because he'd neglected to report $26,250. **807** In 1991 he cut the IRS's budget request for catching wealthy tax cheats from $76 million to $6 million. **808** He scoffed when Michael Dukakis said that one way to reduce the deficit was to collect unpaid taxes. In April 1992 the IRS reported that its backlog of unpaid federal taxes was $111 billion. **809** Of the top 60 aides in his 1988 presidential campaign, none were black. **810** In October 1990 he vetoed a civil-rights bill that he said would promote "quotas." **811** In December 1990 he argued against using federal money to give scholarships to minorities simply because they were minorities. **812** He said that to do so would violate the Civil Rights Act of 1964. **813** In 1964 he was opposed to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. **814** "You know how it is being married to a WASP woman"—blaming Bar for how he dresses. **815** In 1984, Jeb persuaded HHS to give a businessman about $1-billion to keep some HMOs running. **816** The HMOs flopped. The businessman, a friend of Jeb's, has disappeared. **817** Jeb raised money for the presidential campaign of Nicaragua's Violeta Chamorro, arousing "legal concerns" within the State Department. **818** State declined to pursue them. **819** "Ex officio ambassador on behalf of the U.S."—one way Jeb's company describes Jeb. **820** Former "executive assistant to his father"—another way Jeb's company describes Jeb. **821** JUST WHO IS DAVID SOUTER?—August 6, 1990, *Time* cover. **822** "Never heard of him"—Justice Thurgood Marshall, after Souter's nomination was announced. **823** As the crucial fifth vote, Souter decided that states had the right to ban totally nude dancing. **824** Souter decided that convicts must prove "deliberate indifference," not just neglect, to complain about unsanitary and dangerous prison conditions. **825** And Souter decided that a confession used illegally in a trial doesn't mean a guilty verdict should be thrown out. **826** Skull and Bones keeps a log of its members' most depraved thoughts. **827** The log for Bush's year is missing. **828** He showers with his dog. **829** He does this "without feeling apologetic about it." **830** "You don't know how much joy I get out of that dog"—April 1992. **831** "Poor George is hopelessly inarticulate. He never finishes a sentence or puts in a verb"—his sister Nancy. **832** "If I have a tendency, and I confess to it, to avoid on and on and on, eloquent pleas." **833** "Gee, what good people Reagan has around him"—at the 1980 convention, before Reagan chose a running mate. **834** The day after the election, he asked Reagan, "Well, what do we do now?" **835** "There's no difference between me and the president [Reagan] on taxes....Zippity doo-dah"—August 1984. **836** "The election is this: the Great Communicator against the Great Depressor....We are going for the gold!"—September 1984. **837** "Lackey"—GOP challenger Pierre S. "Pete" du Pont on Bush. **838** "Ronald Reagan in drag"—pundit Eleanor Clift on Bush. **839** "We're number one, and there's a lot of idiots who don't know that"—November 1984. **840** "I never heard him say, 'Mr. President, my advice to you would be, this is the wrong thing to do,' or for that matter, 'this is the right thing to do'—Larry Speakes on Bush. **841** "I put confidence in the American people, in their ability to sort through...what is ugly and what is unugly"—on negative campaigning, November 1989. **842** "For somebody to suggest, as our two opponents have, that [the Marines killed in Beirut] died in shame..."—at the 1984 debate. **843** "So what? Maybe 200 people read it, or 2,000 or 20,000"—his strategist's response when newspapers disproved this charge. **844** He counted the number of times *wimp* appeared in *Newsweek*'s 1987 cover story "Fighting the Wimp Factor" (nine). **845** He began calling Pete du Pont "Pierre" to make Du Pont seem effete. **846** His supporters were "at their daughter's coming-out party"—his explanation for his poor showing in Iowa. **847** "How many relatives does he have in Iowa?"—meeting Lech Walesa in Poland, 1987. **848** "I haven't selected her"—on his vice presidential choice, February 1988. **849** "A shining city on a hill"—Reagan, January 1981. "A thousand shining hill"—Bush, October 1988. **850** His spokesman denied he was using abortion as a "litmus test"—October 18, 1989. **851** His spokesman acknowledged he was using abortion as a "litmus test"—October 24, 1989. **852** "The president you won't have to train"—a 1980 campaign slogan. **853** "We love your adherence to democratic principle, and to democratic processes"—toasting Ferdinand Marcos, 1981. **854** "I'll repeat it and stand by it....We should judge by the record," he said when asked about it later. **855** "Oh, yes, they gave me a boy to play tennis with"—when asked if he had met any Chinese people as the U.S. ambassador to China, 1975. **856** "We take whatever the next step is"—on the Middle East,

№796 "We will communicate with our base of white and Asian voters," a Bush adviser says. The campaign may use the videotape of the white truck driver being beaten in L.A.

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No 910 Candidates for jobs in the environmental president's Interior Department were asked four questions about whom they had backed in the 1988 election.

May 1989. **857** "I never felt kind of—you mean, along like the Rodney Dangerfield kind of thing?"—returning from NATO talks, June 1989. **858** "He is very sensitive to the reality that, in a sense, we could do too much"—Sununu on Bush and the tiny amount of aid offered Poland. **859** "There is no Marshall. And there is no plan"—Sergey Plekhanov, Soviet scholar of the U.S., summer 1989. **860** "We have given him everything we can"—a Bush aide, on Gorbachev. **861** In January 1990 he attended World War III games in the Mojave Desert. The "Warsaw Pact" overcame "NATO" forces. Meanwhile... **862** January 1: Romania disbanded its security police. **863** January 22: The Communist Party in Yugoslavia voted to allow a multiparty system. **864** January 29: The Communist Party in Poland disbanded. **865** February 1: The Communist Party in Bulgaria resigned from the government en masse. **866** February 7: The Communist Party of the Soviet Union relinquished control of the government. **867** "The world is moving too fast"—his comment on these events, February 1990. **868** "The enemy is unpredictability, the enemy is instability"—February 1990. **869** "I think we can avoid doing dumb things"—on America's role, February 1990. **870** "And for you missile crews, the pointy end is up"—visiting the Strategic Air Command, that same day. **871** An analyst from the conservative Heritage Foundation said reading his 32-page "strategic vision" paper was like "wrestling with a marshmallow." **872** BUSH DECLINES TO CRITICIZE GORBACHEV OVER LITHUANIA—*L.A. Times*, March 22, 1990. **873** PRESIDENT DENIES HE SOLD OUT LITHUANIA—*L.A. Times*, April 25, 1990. **874** "I haven't been briefed [and] probably shouldn't comment"—on East Germany's apology for the Holocaust, April 12, 1990. **875** His aid package consisted of money that other countries had already pledged and an unspecified amount from the U.S. **876** "It's not a tremendous amount of money. Our commitment is very, very substantial"—April 1992. **877** "We're not talking about funny money. It's real money"—the secretary of State, April 1992. **878** The Treasury Department said it was $2 billion. **879** The State Department was saying $2.6 billion. **880** His secretary of State said, "Three-plus billion." **881** "This is no Johnny-come-lately thing." **882** The Russian-aid announcement happened to precede by 20 minutes a major Bill Clinton speech on foreign policy. **883** In 1989 he asked an aide to compile a list of synonyms for *timid* to use in speeches. **884** At the top of the list: *cautious* and *prudent*. **885** In July 1989 a Marine was hanged by Iranian kidnappers, who threatened to kill more hostages. "We want to take the prudent approach," the president declared. **886** "'Sticks and stones'—remember the old adage—'will hurt your bones, and names don't hurt you'"—on relations with Iran, the month before. **887** *Time* called the un-Carter-like mood he tried to create "concerned normalcy." **888** "We have engaged in a very—a very—an extraordinarily broad exercise of diplomacy here....I don't know what—what it means fully." **889** In December 1991, Iranian terrorists released the last American hostage in exchange for the release of 91 Arab prisoners. **890** And $278 million in Iranian funds turned over by the U.S. **891** And an implicit promise from the president that there would be no military reprisals. **892** "The U.S. government will make no concessions to terrorists. It will not pay ransoms, release prisoners, change its policies or agree to other acts that might encourage additional terrorism"—from the final report of the Vice President's Task Force on Combatting Terrorism, 1986. **893** He said he wanted to "foster change and foster freedom, but to do it in a prudent way so we do not invite some unforeseen action by an unpredictable party." **894** He keeps a talking crystal ball in the Oval Office. **895** He can't remember a single book that has influenced him. **896** He has two middle names. **897** "I plan to fish and hunt as much as I can"—on why he'd be a great environmental president, January 1, 1989. **898** His Forest Service chief sold federal land for $2.50 an acre to mining interests. **899** His head of the Bureau of Land Management was known as "the cattleman's, oilman's, lumberman's and miner's best friend." **900** "[My] policies and people would stay"—James Watt on what Interior would be like under Lujan. **901** Sununu disallowed the use of the term *global warming* by the president. **902** BUSH: WAIT AND SEE ON WARMING—*Chicago Tribune*, April 18, 1990. **903** In 1991 he refused to join other G-7 leaders in pushing for stricter standards on carbon-dioxide emissions. **904** He set up his appearance at the UN's environmental conference in Rio so that he would seem to be both for and against emission controls. **905** He is a partner in Robert Mosbacher's barge business, which has been cited for 200 spills since 1980. **906** "I don't know"—when asked whether the White House recycles. **907** The new Supreme Court ruled 6–3 that the government was not liable for fines for violations of its own Clean Water Act. **908** The majority opinion was written by David Souter. **909** Bush proposed making waivers from the Endangered Species Act easier to obtain. **911** "The caribou love [the pipeline]. They rub up against it and they have babies"—August 1988. **912** He vowed to veto any energy bill that did not allow oil drilling in the Alaskan wildlife refuge. **913** Mary. **914** He proposed rules that would make opposing logging on federal land drastically more complex and expensive. **915** "A kitchen in every pot. I mean, a pot in every—I mean, a chicken in every..."—a 1988 campaign promise. **916** "George would be marvelous with the poor....[Not] as dedicated as, say, Ted Kennedy. But really, he'd be marvelous"—his sister Nancy. **917** He refused to allow marijuana prescriptions for people suffering from glaucoma, multiple sclerosis, cancer or AIDS. **918** He did all those pathetic fratty things at Skull and Bones after he was married and had children. **919** One out of four pregnant American women does not receive early prenatal care. **920** "Let me tell you, this gender thing is history"—on the campaign trail, February 1988. **921** "Pumped half a Tylenol into her, and she's looking good"—on caring for his sick two-year-old granddaughter, 1989. **922** In April 1990 he had 200 children kicked out of a park because he wanted to go fishing. **923** Seeing their class rabbit, he told some elementary-school children about Millie's once having killed a rabbit. **924** BUSH TO VISIT EARTHQUAKE AREA FRIDAY: WHITE HOUSE VOWS "ALL-OUT EFFORT" AFTER CRITICISM FOR SLOW RESPONSE TO OIL SPILL AND HURRICANE—*L.A. Times*, October 19, 1989. **925** Sig Rogich, his PR man, orchestrated appropriate visuals during the president's visit to postearthquake San Francisco. **926** "This was one area where folks had suggested we needed a

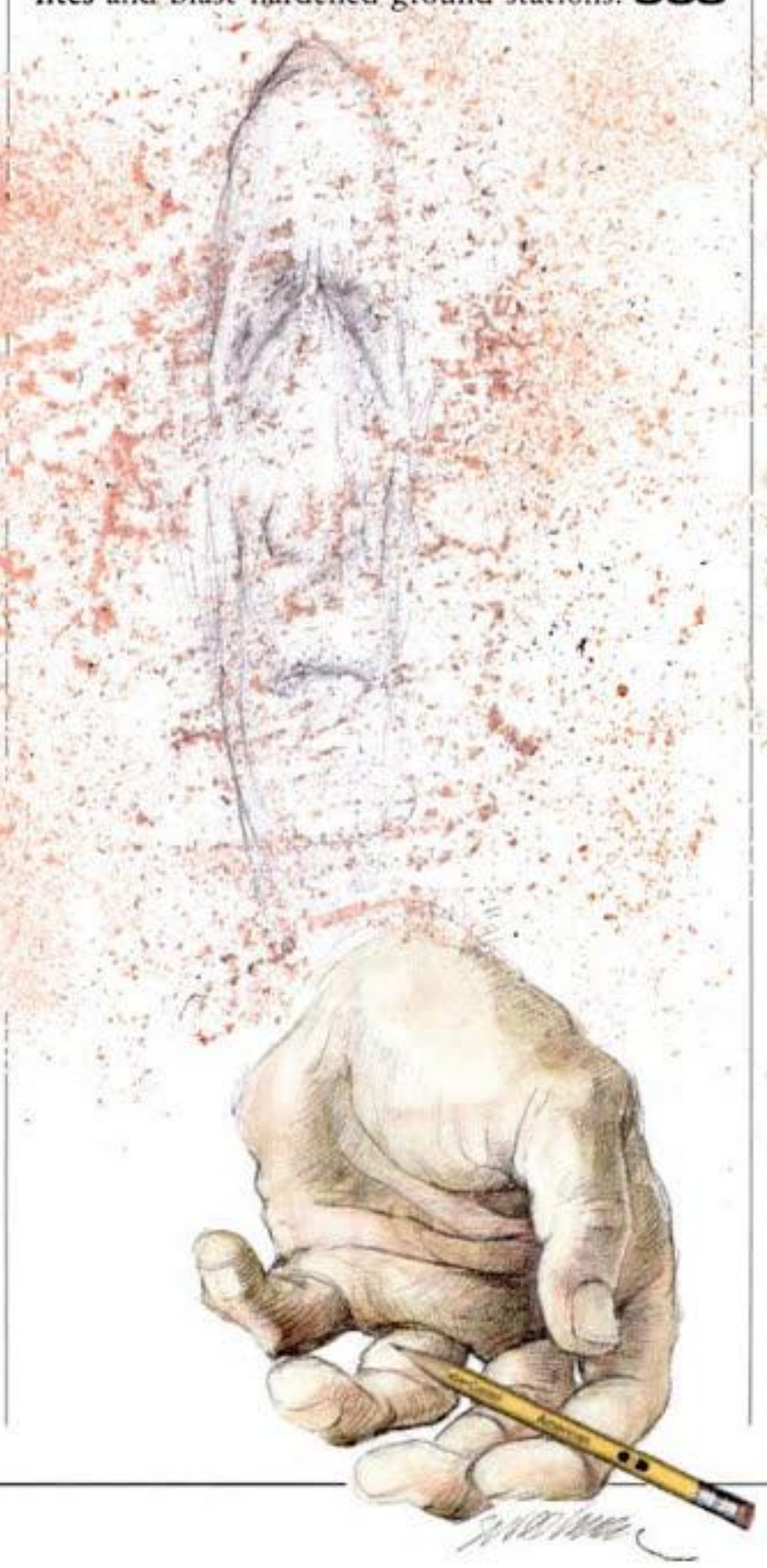


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No 948 Federal funds paid for *Sex Respect*, an anti-premarital-sex comic book for high schoolers, produced by a conservative religious organization.



little bit of an extra dimension," said Sununu. **927** Beginning a tour of drug-exporting countries, he bumped his assistant secretary of State for International Narcotics Matters off the plane. **928** Sig Rogich came instead. **929** The president has involved the military in civilian drug-law enforcement. **930** In the drug war, tens of millions of dollars have gone to corrupt colonels in Bolivia. **931** The 900 Bolivian troops the Army is training will probably just be hired by drug lords. **932** In August 1989, after a meeting to plan drug-war strategy, he met with reporters and said, "Well, we had a—this is nothing other than your basic photo op." **933** The $2 billion the Pentagon has spent to fight drugs has "not had a significant impact" on the availability of cocaine in the U.S., says the General Accounting Office. **934** "I can't say I identify with any specific educational goal"—1988. **935** He watches five TV shows at a time. **936** In 1990 the *Houston Post* reported that the CIA had links to more than 20 failed S&Ls. **937** "We have a sluggish economy....That's why I favor this deficit so much"—October 1990. **938** "When you project income and it doesn't come in like you project, you have a revenue shortfall"—on his $300,000 1980 campaign debt. **939** He threatened to veto Daniel Patrick Moynihan's Social Security–tax cut, which primarily would have benefited working people. **940** To balance the budget by 1993 "without raising taxes," he kept the Social Security trust-fund surplus on budget. **941** Twice in 1991 he thwarted efforts to extend unemployment benefits. **942** HHS canceled a survey on teenage sexuality after the head of a conservative pressure group complained that "we already know teenagers have sex too early, too often and with too many people." **943** Teenage AIDS cases nearly doubled between 1989 and '91. **944** He doesn't mention AIDS much. **945** U.S. policy bars HIV-infected people from entering the country. **946** But when a beloved basketball star became infected, Bush invited him to the White House. **947** "I want him to stop dancing around the truth....If he's not going to do anything, I just want him to tell me, straight out"—Magic Johnson. **949** HHS blocked publication of an AIDS-education pamphlet because it explained how to use a condom. **950** HHS's AIDS-education campaign doesn't mention the word *sex* or *condom*. **951** He vetoed a bill that would have provided funds for the UN family-planning agency. **952** He feared the money might be used for forced contraception in China. **953** HHS refused to fund in vitro–fertilization research, because many fertilized eggs do not survive. **954** He favored the *Rust* v. *Sullivan* decision, which prohibits family-planning clinics from discussing abortion if they receive federal money. **955** He vetoed legislation that would have limited *Rust*. **956** The White House sent copies of the *Rust* decision to judges hearing a case about government funding of leftist filmmakers. **957** He backed away from his earlier endorsement of a law to limit the size of ammo clips. **958** It "didn't meet with a lot of enthusiasm" from his friends, according to an aide. **959** He said he would back stronger penalties for people who buy large ammo clips and then kill people. **960** "Amending the Constitution to protect the flag is not a matter of partisan politics. It's an American issue"—holding a miniature version of the Iwo Jima Memorial, June 1990. **961** The Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press lists 340 incidents in which he tried to keep information from the American people. **962** In a Florida school district, children must now get their parents' permission to check out *Snow White*. **963** The Justice Department went to court to defend the right of prolifers to interfere physically with women trying to get abortions. **964** The president wants to spend $1,000 per person for defense in fiscal 1993. **965** He supports the B-2 bomber, which was designed to elude Soviet radar and deliver nuclear bombs. **966** He supports Timberwind, an $8 billion nuclear-powered rocket engine. **967** He supports MILSTAR, a $40 billion network of space satellites and blast-hardened ground stations. **968** He supports the National Program Office, which makes plans for keeping the White House functioning in case of nuclear war. **969** So far $7.5 billion has been spent. **970** As head of the National Program Office, the vice president has been compiling a list of people to take over the country if everybody mentioned in the 25th Amendment is killed. **971** You are not on this list. **972** We've heard too many tiresome puns when he hunts quail. **973** Even Margaret Thatcher is convinced that the world needs to cut carbon-dioxide emissions. **974** Nine out of ten middle-class Americans think it's more difficult to make ends meet now than it was a few years ago. **975** Maybe James Baker would go down with him. **976** Hobe Sound, the posh Florida resort where the Bush family has a house, is rife with anti-Semitism. **977** The Greenwich-country-club world in which he grew up, and of which he has remained a part, is rife with anti-Semitism. **978** Not to mention racism. **979** Not to mention the anti-Semitism and racism of Texas plutocrats. **980** Nixon, Ford, Reagan and he could play golf as a Republican ex-president foursome. **981** Chief of Staff Sam Skinner, who he thought was so brilliant, has made people miss Sununu. **982** "Thing." **983** In 1988 he said, "Watch my vice presidential decision, that will tell all." **984** "You have to stand between him and a window or he'll spend the whole time looking out the window daydreaming"—an aide. **985** He's actually made you feel guilty for despising Dukakis so much. **986** "Let's go...get a pineapple float and cool you off"—a boy to his overeager date in *Sex Respect*. **987** He makes Jack Kemp look like a subtle thinker. **988** He boasts that AIDS spending has increased 118 percent since he took office. This is because more people covered by Medicare and Medicaid are dying of AIDS. **989** A 1992 survey by the National Institute of Drug Abuse found that the same number of people are using cocaine weekly as in 1989. **990** The infant-mortality rate in the U.S. is higher than that in 23 other industrialized nations. **991** In 1980 he said, "You can have a winner [in a nuclear war]." **992** "I never said that," he insisted in 1984. The original interview had been tape-recorded. **993** If he loses, he might become interestingly embittered. **994** "He doesn't seem to stand for anything"—Ronald Reagan on Bush, March 1992. **995** "Unleash Chiang!"—a common Bush utterance during sporting contests. **996** "Those who say good field, no hit—I think it's a vicious assault not only on my baseball ability but on my character." **997** At Yale he was a good fielder and a mediocre hitter. **998** "It was Vic Damone on the links today." **999** "I'm not going to comment on the fishing—vicious assault on my ability." **1000** "If you're so damned smart, why are you doing what you're doing and I'm president of the United States?"



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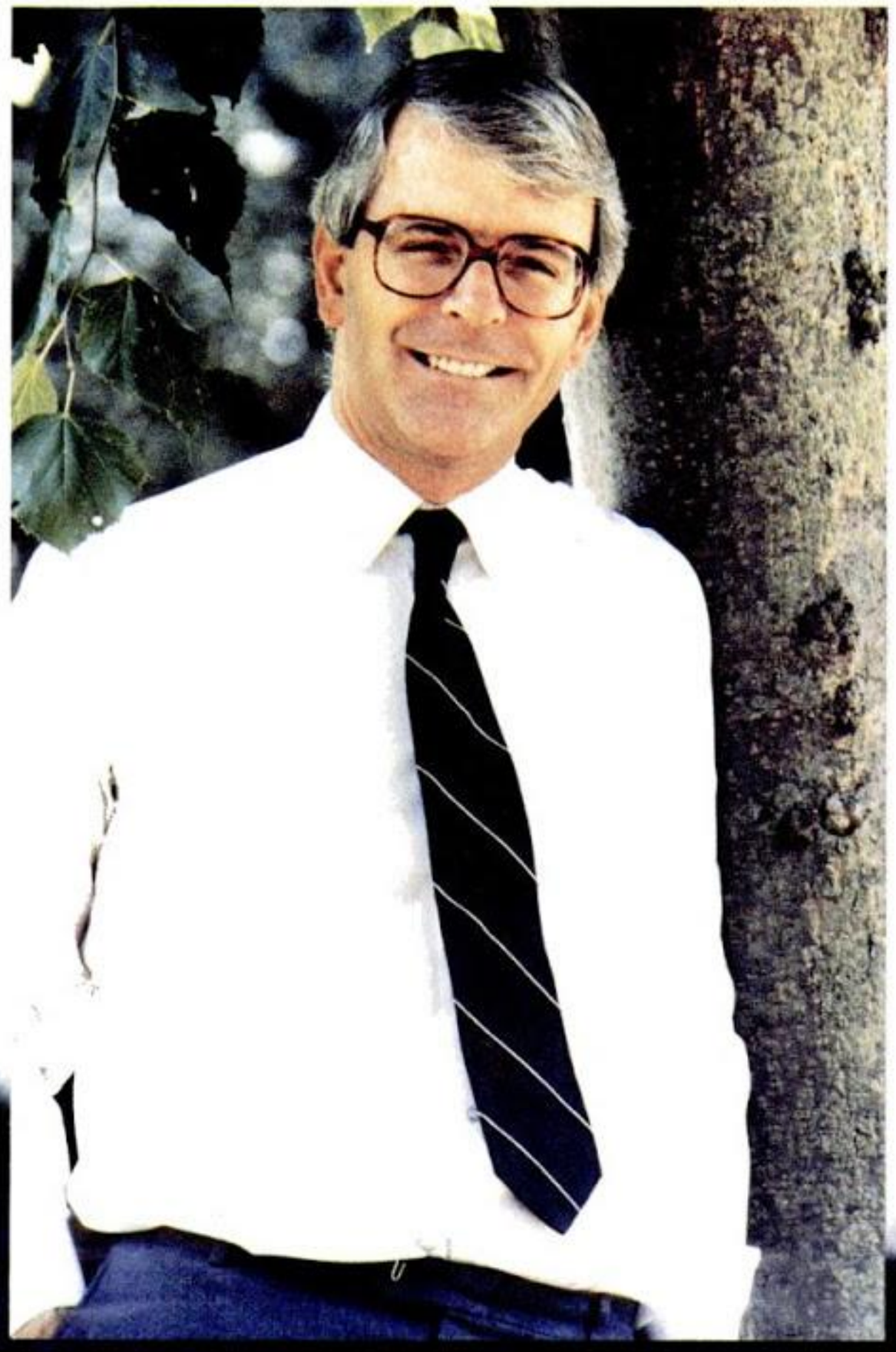
This month: *World leaders looking good before, during and long after their terms in office. Plus: sign language of the stars!* **July-August 1992**



Living nonpresident Imelda Marcos pets the embalmed body of her dead-president husband in Honolulu, two years after his death.

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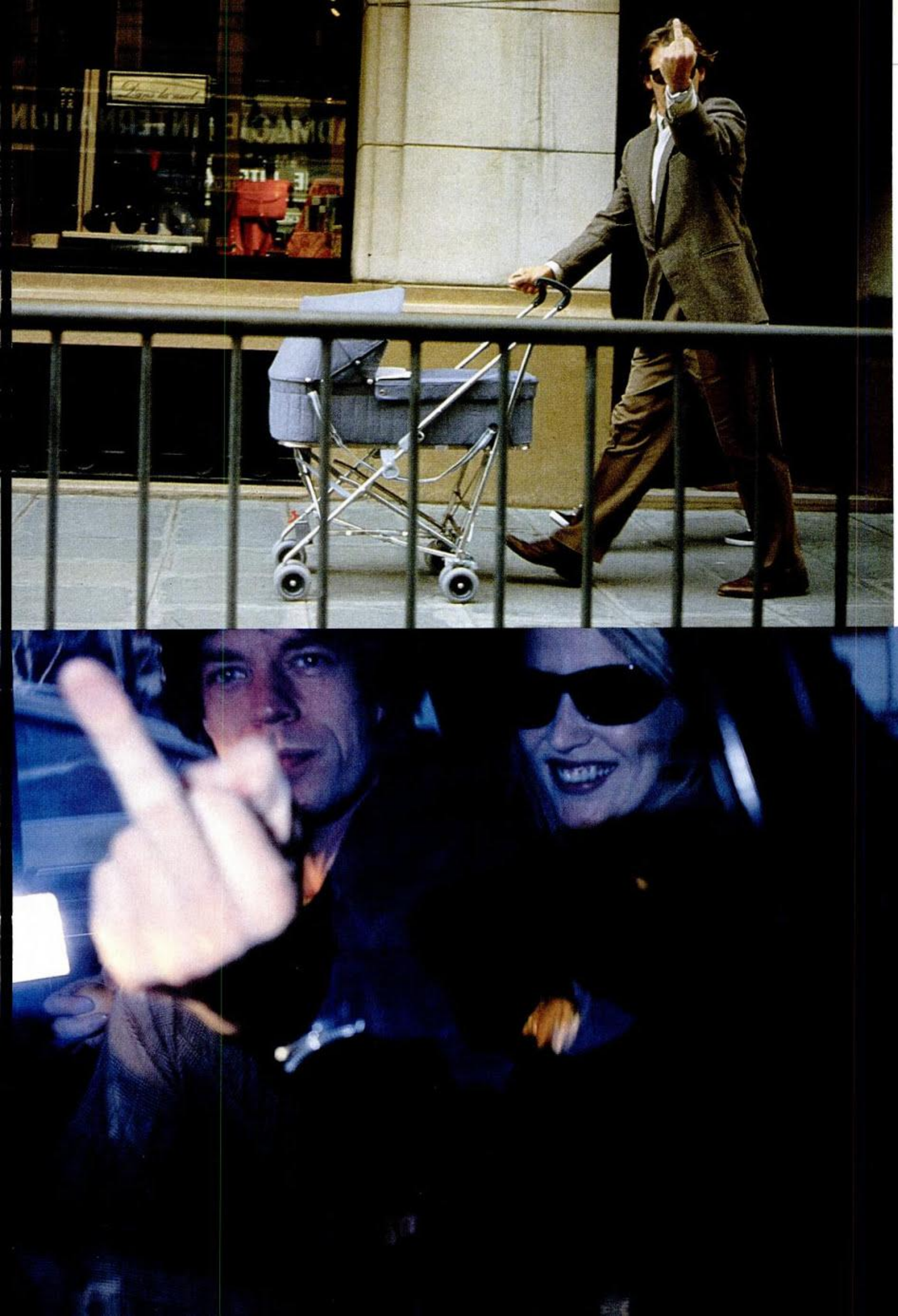
SPY BIG PICTURES



Reelected prime minister John Major exudes British style in his official portrait.

SPY BIG PICTURES

Celebrities being celebrities: *clockwise from top left*, sultry Ellen Barkin, family man Harrison Ford, glamorous Mick Jagger and Jerry Hall, ambidextrous Marlon Brando



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Dan and Marilyn Quayle
on their wedding day in 1972

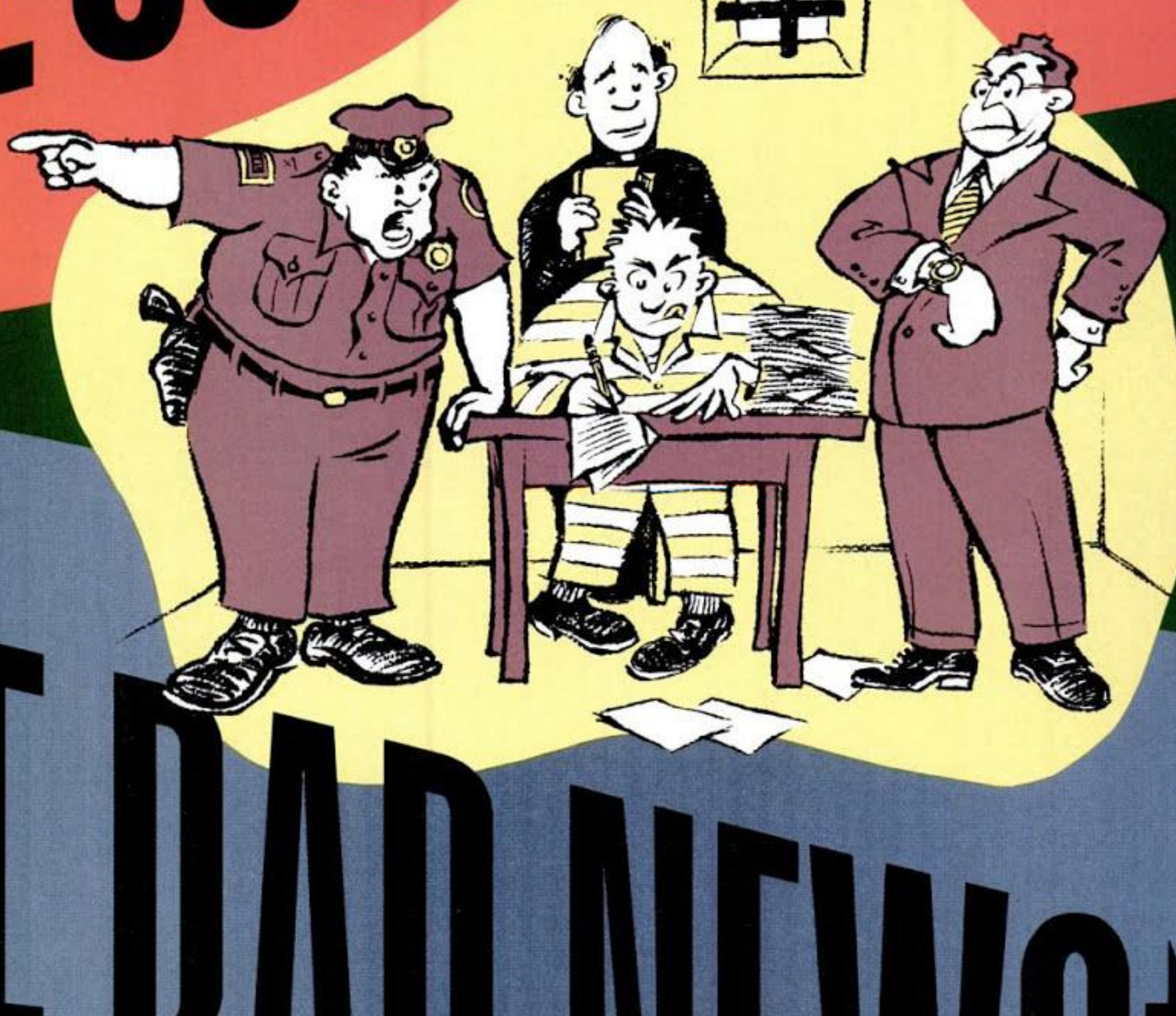
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THE GOOD NEWS



THE BAD NEWS

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THE WIZARD OF OZ AND PETER JENNINGS ARE ON TV TONIGHT

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE 1992 SPY DEATH-ROW CENSUS

YOUR EXECUTION IS SCHEDULED FOR 7 A.M. TOMORROW

They read Dostoyevski, Ayn Rand and the Bible. They admire Nelson Mandela and Norman Schwarzkopf. They would like to lunch with Bill Cosby and David Frost. Most think Bush declared war against Iraq to protect his domestic political standing. Given a chance to speak with Donald Trump, 9 percent would tell him to "get a life."

The new generation of Salomon Brothers recruits? The entering class at Dartmouth? Guests on *Donahue?* No, these are a portion of the inmates whom some of the 50 states plan to execute in the months ahead.

Curious about what inmates scheduled for death thought about a variety of issues, we queried nearly 50 of the 2,547 people who are currently living their lives on various prison death rows across the country. We posed a range of questions. We invited them to supply any additional information they thought was important.

Ninety-one percent of the inmates who responded to the SPY Death-Row Census are white, though whites make up only 51 percent of the death-row population. Nearly half were represented by a public defender. All were convicted of murder. A plurality—more than 36 percent—say Peter Jennings is their favorite news anchor. Some 27 percent say their favorite musical is *The Wizard of Oz*. More than a quarter want to work harder on their writing. Nearly half express an interest in computer technology. Eighteen percent say their least favorite Supreme Court justice is William Rehnquist. Nearly 30 percent would have sentenced Mike Milken to more time in jail than the ten years he got. Almost one in five names Stephen King as the author of his favorite book! Compelling findings? You bet. Here, in detail, are some of the responses.

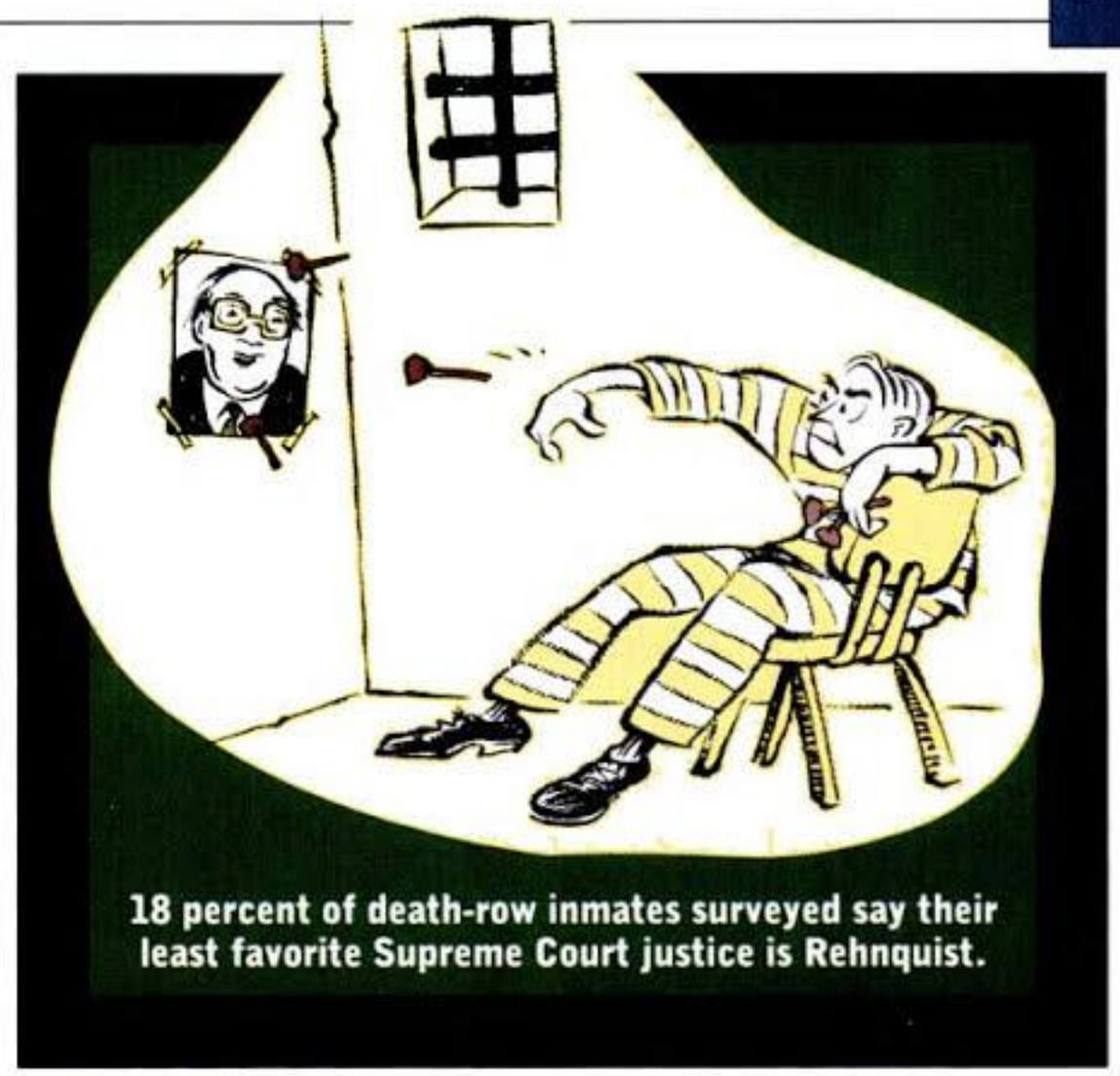
INMATE: RICHARD D. FOSTER

Foster is a 39-year-old mechanic who was convicted of murdering a farm-supply-store clerk in November 1985. Currently incarcerated at the Ellis One unit in Huntsville, Texas, he is waiting for an appellate court to review a habeas corpus petition.

What is your favorite book?
The Bible.
Favorite movie?
Homeboy [starring Mickey Rourke].
Favorite musical?
I like Barbra Streisand.
Who is the best TV anchorman?
Peter Jennings.
What was the last book you read?
Good Morning, Holy Spirit, by Bennie Hinn.
What are you most proud of?
[Being] a Vietnam vet.
What do you regret most?
I killed my best friend in 'Nam.
What is the worst thing about prison life?
Loneliness and not being able to touch the ones I love.
What one thing would you most want to have in your cell?
A dog or some kind of animal to have for a friend. Maybe a phone. Or maybe a computer.
Which public figure do you most admire?
Stormin' Norman S.
Least admire?
Saddam Hussein.

by Susan Lehman

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18 percent of death-row inmates surveyed say their least favorite Supreme Court justice is Rehnquist.

Stars Killers Envy

James Garner, John Holmes, Patrick Swayze

INMATE: C. MICHAEL LAMBRIX

The 31-year-old mechanic was sentenced to death in March 1984 for murdering Alicia Bryant and Lawrence Lamberson. Divorced, the father of two, Lambrix is incarcerated at Florida State Prison, in Starke, Florida, while appealing his sentence.

What is your favorite book?
A Stone for Danny Fisher, by Harold Robbins.
Favorite musical?
Fiddler on the Roof (I'd love to see it live).
Best anchorman?
Peter Jennings.
Last book you read?
With Justice for None, by Gerry Spence.
What are you most proud of?
My writing accomplishments.
What was the greatest disappointment in your life?
The jury's conviction.
What is the worst thing about prison life?
Forced dependency.
What one thing would you most want to have in your cell?
A telephone.
Which public figure do you most admire?
Jesse Jackson. If he was white, he'd be another JFK (complete with scandals).
Least admire?
Ronald Reagan. In time, history will recognize him as a political parasite.
Why, do you think, did Bush decide to have a war in Iraq?
Political salvation.
What do you think of Ronald Reagan's "family values"?
I try not to. The last I heard, his son was dressed in drag while [Bush's] was ripping off savings-and-loans.
Which pop phenomena are you most curious about?
What really interests me is that "cultural phenomenon" of jumping off bridges with that long rubber band. Free-falling for a couple hundred feet with rocks below—and hanging by a long rubber band. Now, that's something I'd like to personally experience.
What would you say to Donald Trump?
"Get a life."
Why, do you think, did those police officers in Los Angeles attack Rodney King?
Business as usual.
Do you have any advice for Ted Kennedy on the subject of drinking hundreds of dollars' worth of liquor one night in Palm Beach?
Find a discount liquor store. What he does on his own time, in the privacy of his own home, with family, is his business. I've got a lot of respect for Ted Kennedy even if he does have a knack for making negative headlines. He's human, and I haven't met anybody perfect yet.
What job do you think Dan Quayle is best suited for?
A towel boy at the federally operated Mustang Ranch [whorehouse] in Nevada.
What would have been the right sentence for Mike Milken?
Forfeiture of all monetary gains accumulated in the period of criminal activity, plus probation with the stipulation that he perform community service with the poor.
For Jim Bakker?
Time served. Isn't being married to Tammy Faye punishment enough?
What criteria should the federal government use in deciding which arts projects to fund?
The government shouldn't decide....To allow government to decide would promote

Public Figures Killers Don't Like

Pope John Paul II, Jim Bakker, Ronald Reagan, Saddam Hussein, David Duke, George Bush

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political censorship of politically unpopular items.

Which male movie star do you most envy, and why?
Michael Landon, for the strength he showed in dealing with cancer.

Public Figures Killers Admire

George Bush, Tom Landry, Jesse Jackson, Norman Schwarzkopf, Nelson Mandela, Dan Quayle, Colin Powell

INMATE: ROBERT WEST

The 29-year-old former prostitute was convicted of murder and burglary in February 1983. While waiting for the U.S. Court of Appeals to rule on a request for an evidentiary hearing, West is incarcerated at the Ellis One unit in Huntsville.

What is your favorite book?
Stephen King's *It* was an escape, because the kids he created were kids we all knew—real, believable and a pleasure to get to know. I also loved Fyodor Dostoyevski's *Crime and Punishment*. I am discovering H. P. Lovecraft right now; his conversation sings, fluid and deep.

Favorite movie?
That changes every other week. There are only six stories in Hollywood....

Best anchorman?
Sam Donaldson.

Last book you read?
The Brothers Karamazov.

What are you most proud of?
I saved a two-year-old from drowning.

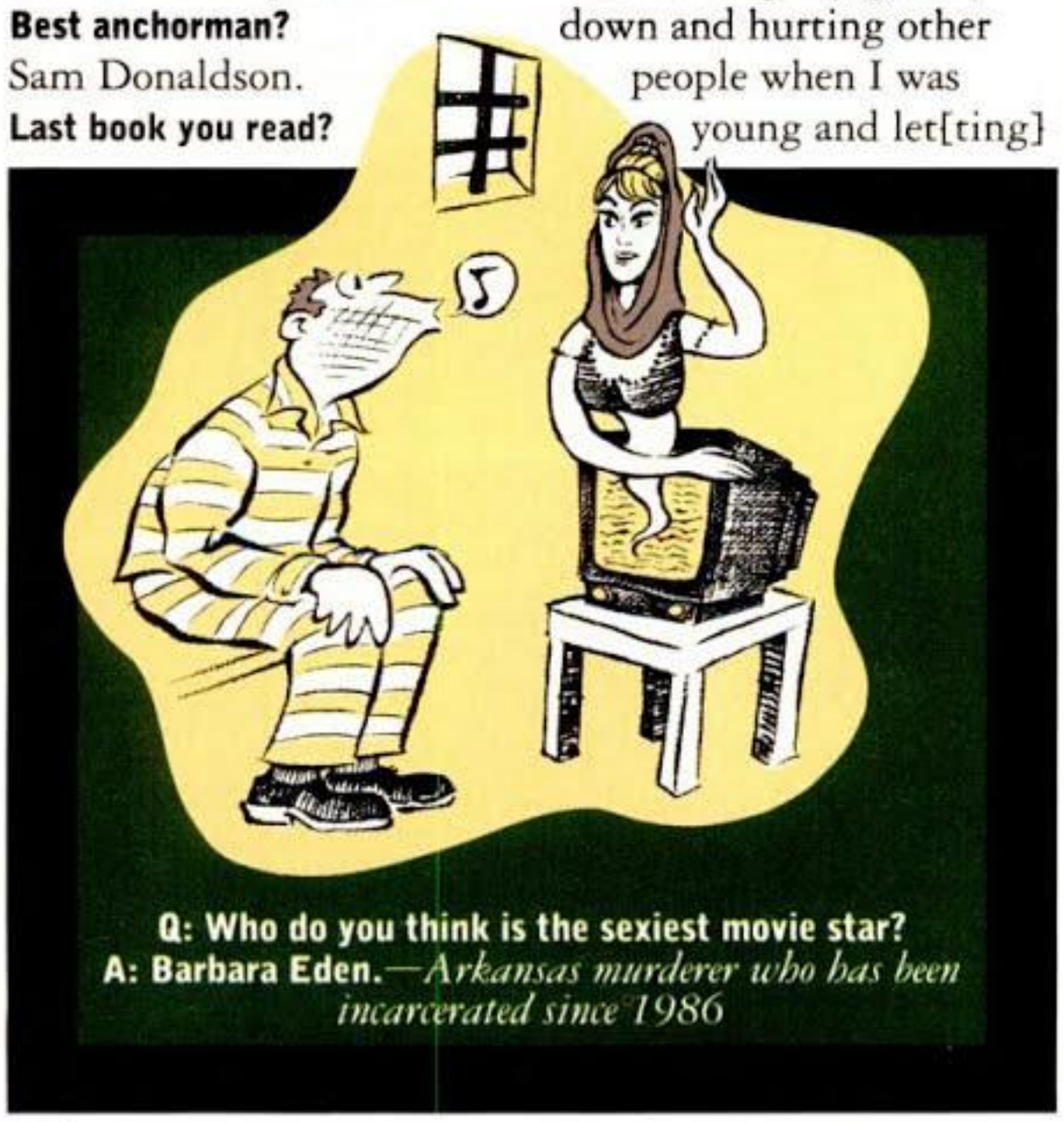
What do you regret most?
Taking a life. I regret my own ignorance in thinking that revenge was the answer to the problem, and I regret making another human being suffer like that.

What was the greatest disappointment in your life?
Ending my own life like this. Letting my granny down and hurting other people when I was young and let[ting] my little head think for my big head.

What one thing would you most want to have in your cell?
A woman. I have not touched another human being in eight and a half years.

What would you say to Donald Trump?
"Kiss my ass!" I wouldn't piss in that idiot's ass if his guts were on fire.

Which TV personality would you like to have lunch with?
Rhonda Shear, USA's *Up All Night* movie hostess.



Q: Who do you think is the sexiest movie star?
A: Barbara Eden.—*Arkansas murderer who has been incarcerated since 1986*

Stars Killers Find Sexy

Geena Davis, Ellen Barkin, Jane Seymour, Lynda Carter, Whoopi Goldberg, Melanie Griffith, Julia Roberts, Jasmine Guy, Phoebe Cates

INMATE: DAVID MASON

The 35-year-old five-time murderer is a native Californian. A former bouncer, Mason was sentenced to death in February 1984. He is an inmate at San Quentin Prison, in California.

What is your favorite book?
The Stand, by Stephen King.

Favorite movie?
Spartacus.

Favorite musical?
The Wizard of Oz.

Best anchorman?
Connie Chung.

Last book you read?
We're All Doing Time, by Bo Lozoff.

What is the worst thing about prison life?
The other assholes like me you're forced to cohabitate with.

What one thing would you most want to have in your cell?
A full-access PC terminal with full-size screen and word processor [and] unlimited RAM.

Which public figure do you most admire?
Nelson Mandela.

Least admire?
David Duke.

Why, do you think, did Bush decide to have a war in Iraq?
Money, political influence [and to] maintain control of oil for favorite nations.

What would you say to Donald Trump?
"Tough luck, bro. Get back on the horse."

Which TV personality would you like to have lunch with?
David Frost.

Do you have any advice for Ted Kennedy on the subject of drinking hundreds of dollars' worth of liquor one night in Palm Beach?
Nope. Like Hank Jr.'s song, he's just carrying on an old family tradition.

What would have been the right sentence for Mike Milken?
Poverty.

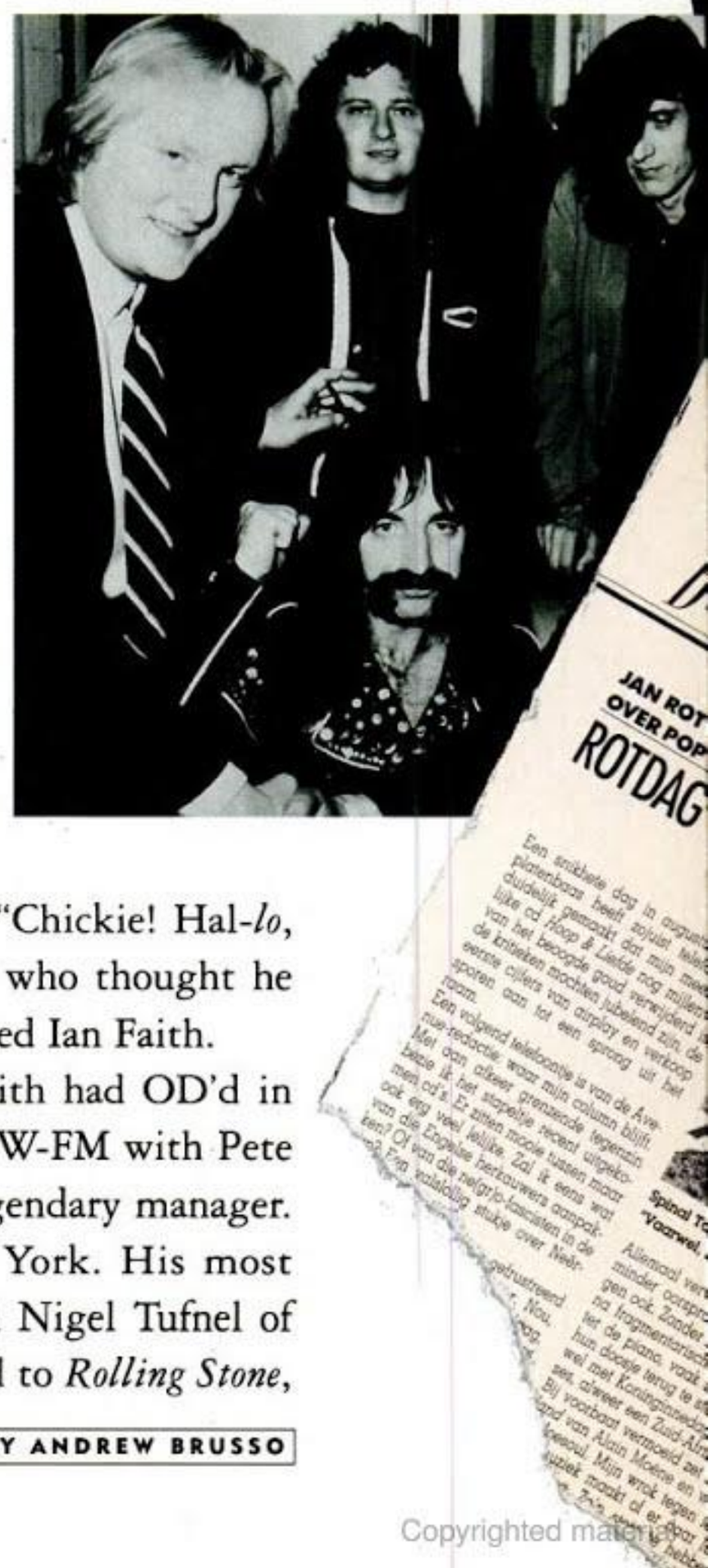
What criteria should the federal government use in funding art?
The same criteria they use in deciding [on] urban developments, defense contractors and which savings-and-loans to fund—none at all.

What male movie star do you most envy and why?
Jack Nicholson, because of his raw talent, and despite his success he's managed to retain his humanity.

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"Spinal Tap killed me... but I wouldn't stay dead!"

WE REMEMBER THE SADNESS WE FELT WHEN WE HEARD IAN FAITH HAD DIED. BUT THE INCREDIBLE, SHOCKING AND COMPLETELY UNDENIABLE TRUTH IS THAT THE LEGENDARY MANAGER OF SUCH ROCK GROUPS AS SPINAL TAP, SALT IN THEIR WOUNDS AND CRUSTY PANTIES IS *ALIVE*. AND NOT ONLY IS HE ALIVE, BUT HE'S TALKING, EXCLUSIVELY, TO *SPY* CONTRIBUTOR CHICK HADRIAN



THE PHONE RANG, and I answered, and I heard that familiar "Chickie! Hal-*lo*, man!" Never had I felt such terror, as would anybody who thought he was talking to a dead man. Particularly a dead man named Ian Faith.

The memories came flooding back: learning that Faith had OD'd in the Chelsea Hotel; hearing Scott Muni's show on WNEW-FM with Pete Townshend and Ian Anderson reminiscing about the legendary manager. I also remembered Ian's funeral in Woodlawn, New York. His most famous protégés, David St. Hubbins, Derek Smalls and Nigel Tufnel of Spinal Tap, had come, as St. Hubbins recently admitted to *Rolling Stone*,

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW BRUSSO

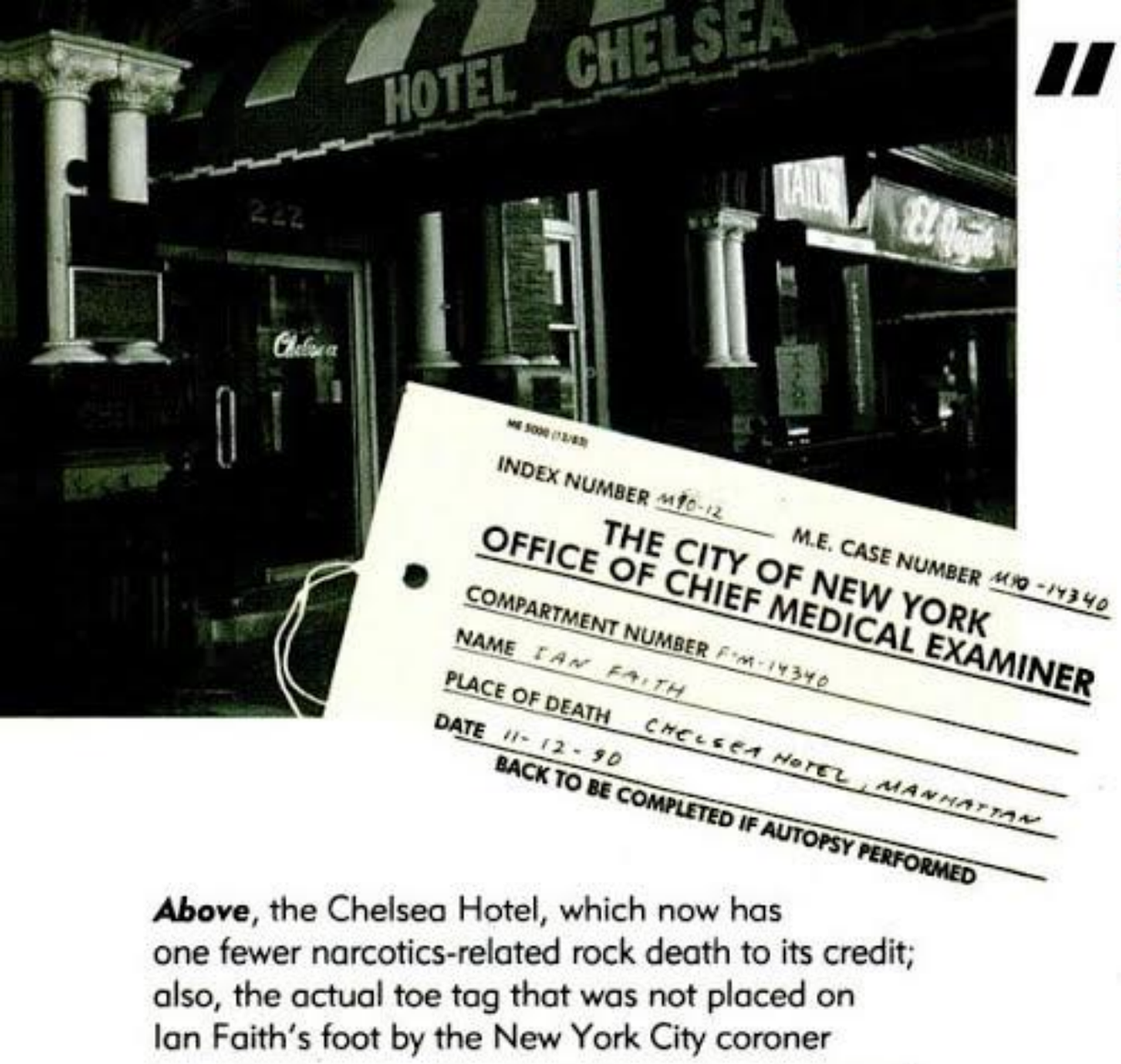
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Above,
the amazingly undead
Ian Faith at Manhattan's Whiskey bar
with latest protégée, singer-songwriter-receptionist
Eden; ***top left***, Faith with Spinal Tap circa 1983;
bottom left, from the Dutch magazine *Ruggegraat*,
Spinal Tap dancing on Faith's putative grave

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"Everything—the c skimming—was n



Above, the Chelsea Hotel, which now has one fewer narcotics-related rock death to its credit; also, the actual toe tag that was not placed on Ian Faith's foot by the New York City coroner

"because he owed us a great deal of money." Before long they were literally dancing on his grave and, in their celebration, laying plans for their reunion, the one that is engaging the nation today.

As soon as the call came, I knew I had to see him. I found him in his little bungalow in the Caymans. After the usual finding-someone-alive-whom-you-thought-dead pleasantries, we got down to business.

SPY: How—and why—did you pull off this incredible hoax?

IAN FAITH: Well, my motivation was really the band. Several years ago the affairs of the band had become...let's say *tangled*, and I felt it best to devise some strategy whereby I could take upon myself, uh, the responsibility for these various...well, *indiscretions*, really. They weren't crimes or anything like that.

Indiscretions on your part?

Well, let's put it this way: They were collective indiscretions that I had individually undertaken. I mean, I had individually undertaken the indiscretions and in some cases committed outright fraud as a representative of the band. And it *was* as a representative of the band. A vote had been taken—at various times, to the best of my recollection—electing me to act as an officer for the band's business.

Let me get this straight. You were defrauding people on the band's behalf?

No, not in the main. I had received advances from interests in Europe and elsewhere for albums that were yet to be recorded. Such sums get eaten up when you're dealing with a band that has the artistic sweep of a Spinal Tap. You really can't skimp on the money. You've got to give them what they need to fulfill their vision.

I'm not sure I understand.

Fulfilling their vision involved going to certain secluded places so they could work in peace—or, more precisely, *my* going to certain secluded places so they could work in peace. Anyway, to make a long story short, this situation was, well, in a way *desperate*. And that was when I quite openly—well, not openly as far as everyone was concerned; I was being open with myself—let's say I quite *consciously* embezzled money. I actually committed a crime in order to draw attention away from the potentially damaging indiscretions that had been committed by the band collectively, without their knowledge, by me.

Not a lot of managers would make that kind of sacrifice.

No, no—I don't think many would. My strategy was to put myself in the position where the authorities would blame only me for those apparent crimes, and then kill myself.

And the members of the band could plausibly play dumb.

Exactly. Still, I do think the band has been very ungrateful. As it says in the Bible, "Greater love hath no manager than that he lay down his life for his band."

I guess it takes a certain subtlety of mind to grasp that you would be stealing from someone for their own benefit.

Exactly. *Precisely.* It was beyond them, frankly. I've always said the band's skills and talents are intuitive, they're not cerebral. They don't have minds, in the usual sense of the word.

Tell me how you actually pulled off this hoax.

Well, it's remarkably easy to die in New York City. It did take the cooperation of a good friend and sympathetic ally—a very good friend called Hassan, a gentleman I met in Beirut some years ago.

Let's go back to that day and review it, step-by-step. We're talking about November 12, 1990. You were in the Chelsea Hotel, and you'd just completed a three-week binge involving alcohol, drugs of various kinds, sort of setting up—

Not of that many kinds. I mean, I wanted to make it appear that I was OD'ing, but really it was only one or two kinds, maybe three.

The point being that you set everybody up to believe you had been indulging by having the appearance of indulging.

Exactly, Chick, exactly. Finally, after a few weeks, I went to my room and stuck a syringe in my arm. But I didn't push the plunger. I then assumed a dead position. I had taken this Japanese blowfish stuff, which lays you out so that if you're examined in a rudimentary fashion, like by policemen, you can appear to be dead.

Especially in New York, where they have so many corpses.

Hassan then pretended to find my body and reported it to the hotel manager, who of course was distraught. Well, he wasn't that distraught—this kind of thing

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nbezzlement, the fraud, the ' way of saying, 'I love you, Tap'"

happens fairly frequently in the Chelsea—but I had been a good tipper. Anyway, things became a little bit more complicated. We couldn't have me taken off to the morgue, so the body—that is, *me*—had to be replaced by another body.

Whose body did you get, Ian?

Well, in fact, it was that of a friend I had met during the binge, and he was actually dead. And that was just a lovely bit of good luck, because this person—José? Julio? I can't remember—hadn't been dead when we met.

But what about the open casket at the funeral?

Oh, well, that was me. At the undertaker's I was put into a coffin in which Hassan had hidden six scuba tanks, so that when the coffin was closed and I was lowered into the grave, I would be able to survive for several hours. So that was me, with a rapt smile upon my face, being paid my last respects, which very few people bothered to do.

It must have been difficult for you to hear such derogatory comments from former associates.

Yes, that was depressing. I mean, obviously I expected some form of anger—you know, it's a classic survivor thing—but also...

Grief?

Well, something like grief, at least. Certainly what I did not expect was the *vituperation*. I remember, as the first shovelful of dirt hit the coffin, Tufnel yelling, "Bye, Ian, come back as something I can eat!"

Really?

Which seems to me a bit rough. I thought they were just stamping down the dirt, but later, of course, it was reported that they were actually dancing. Dancing, whooping, high-fiving, the works.

Let's talk about what you had been doing after splitting with Spinal Tap and before your death.

The one significant undertaking was in Europe. I was in touch with a friend of mine, a fellow named Danzig. He's one of those very interesting chaps who deal with six or seven countries at once—you know, he's doing a feature film in Paris financed with Arab money, and the rock score is being done by some Nazi psycho-metal band he's booking into Sweden—he's one of these postmodern Renaissance men. Anyway, he was in contact with some moderate Iranians inside Iran who wanted to improve the image of their country. One scheme was to start up a record company with Iranian money, Moderate Records, and Danzig offered me a chance to join in.

You were going to be the A&R guy?

Precisely. My plan was to assemble an Iranian band that I wanted to call the Mullahs of Invention. In the end, we did find some Turkish kids in Bremen who looked Iranian, and we bought them a Marshall stack and some Gibson SGs to get them started, but then I found out *to my horror* that the money that was coming in from Iran wasn't staying in the company. It was moving right out again in cash, usually in the equipment of Israeli rock bands, to Tel Aviv. And some days later there would be a new F-14 on a runway in Tehran. The whole company was a conduit for getting arms into Iran.

Amazing.

Although for a while there, we were in clover, because here we were, with tens of millions of dollars going through the accounts, the richest record company in Europe—and no product! We didn't have to go out and push anything. We just had to sit there, basically, picking our noses and getting laid. I actually thought of it as the pinnacle of my career, because it was sex, drugs but no rock 'n' roll. I didn't have to spend half my time trying to get some pumped-up little wanker onstage, you know, just to play a set. But then the American Congress got their knickers in a twist, and the whole thing ground to a crashing halt.

Is this how Spinal Tap's back catalog ended up in Tehran?

Well, this is one of the bones of contention between me and the band. The thing is, we had this group, the Mullahs, but they didn't have any songs. But, you see, I was sitting on this huge catalog of songs by this group called Spinal Tap, which for all intents and purposes didn't exist anymore. So I slipped the songs into Moderate's catalog.

You sold them?

Well, no, not exactly—I more or less actually contributed the catalog in return for my salary. But that's why there's been contentiousness about where the Spinal Tap catalog is. I guess you could technically say it's owned by—

Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani.

Technically. But so what? Let him sue! You know—what's he going to do? Cut off Nigel's hand?

Tell me, Ian—what did you do while you were underground?

Well, it's *extremely* difficult to trade on one's reputation when one is reputedly dead. So I kind of had to take what I could get. And one thing that turned out to be quite lucrative was rights to concessions at skinhead rallies in Europe.

What?

We started out with obvious items, simulated Nazi memorabilia and so forth, but we eventually added pint bottles of gasoline, brass knuckles, T-shirts—

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"I am the fifth member of Spinal Tap, after all"

T-shirts?

Black Hanes Beefy-T's, no shrinking, good stuff. I mean, it's not *good*, in the moral sense. I mean it *moves*. But I must say I didn't feel very proud of myself for getting involved with the neo-Nazi business, so I did try to offset it with some benefits.

Benefits?

Yes. One was an international rock concert for tennis players who've been held hostage by terrorists. It was—well, it was actually a video more than a—well, it was actually held in a television studio and beamed to many, many places via satellite.

Are there many tennis players held hostage?

More than you'd think. And when they are released, there'll be some money for them. A bit.

What plans do you have now?

Well, it's like the end of a fallow period. I'm proposing to some of my fellow veterans that we set up a Traveling Wilburys–type outfit, a sort of Managing Wilburys, that would go around the country orchestrating the careers of groups on the road. Each band would stay in one place, but we'd be traveling around.

So who's involved with that?

Um, Andrew Loog Oldham, Allen Klein, Malcolm McLaren, perhaps Bill Graham—

Bill Graham's dead!

Look, believe what you want, but I've at least been talking to someone calling himself Bill Graham who's an angry sort of fellow who does seem to have some experience in promoting music, and that's good enough for me. We're thinking of setting up a new Fillmore, the Fillmore South, in Tampa. Get a very, very big empty place, get a big parking lot, make it the centerpiece of a theme park devoted to the mythos of rock 'n' roll. That's the vision, anyway.

Are you working with any new groups?

Yes, I'm quite into world beat. I've been to South Africa, and I've lined up quite a few very interesting musicians.

Like Paul Simon.

Like Paul Simon, but very much unlike him as well. Most of my fellows are white.

Really?

Yes, Afrikaners. They incorporate a lot of elements not usually found in black African music. Drums, for example.

What kind of music do they play?

Sort of military, but with an oompah flavor. It can be very moving.

Anything else?

I'm working on a big tribute concert.

A tribute? To whom?

That's just it—a tribute to whichever giant of our business is next to pass. The great people, let's face it, are hitting 50 and more, which means in days to come they will tend to be dying more frequently. And what's needed is the ability to organize tributes *instantly* for rock superstars.

I see what you mean. If you look at this Freddie Mercury thing at Wembley, it took months to get that together.

Precisely! Imagine how much more could have been raised if they could have saluted Freddie while fans were still in the throes of grief! With my plan we have everything in place, so that as soon as somebody dies, it's all there—the arena, the international hookups, the equipment, the celebrities—so that if, say, Paul McCartney dies tomorrow, I can have a tribute going for him in 24 hours. I can't mention names at this point, but believe me, the participants are all top-flight people, and the animal-rights people or whoever it is that has Paul's ear—or, more appropriately, I suppose, Linda's ear—will be very happy that we'd be there, all organized, before the bloom's off the rose.

Any chance of your getting back with Spinal Tap?

That would be a dream, Chick, to be back with the boys. I think they could use me—it doesn't seem their album has taken off like the B-1 bomber exactly, now has it? Topped out at No. 61, off the chart in five weeks. Not that it would be easy, but I am the fifth member of Spinal Tap, after all, their Pete Best, Brian Epstein, George Martin and Murray the K all wrapped up in one. And there are so many memories, so many difficult memories. Nigel tried to poison me at one point. Typical Tufnel—he used a bright-blue crystalline rat poison and put it on my salad. I mean, it shows up, blue does! It shows up on a salad.

So there's a lot of history there.

Yes, but the point I want to make is that everything I did—the embezzlement, the fraud, the illegal transfers, the skimming—was really my way of saying, "I love you, Tap." I'm very fond of our body of work together, our oeuvre, even though logging 24-hour days for years on end for a band is not the easiest way to lead a life that could have been very creative in its own right. I mean, I had my own dreams, you know, that I put on hold. But that's all bygones. All I want to say is that if they want to make the first move, then I'm here to serve, as I always have been.

And if not?

Then we'll have to take the appropriate legal action.

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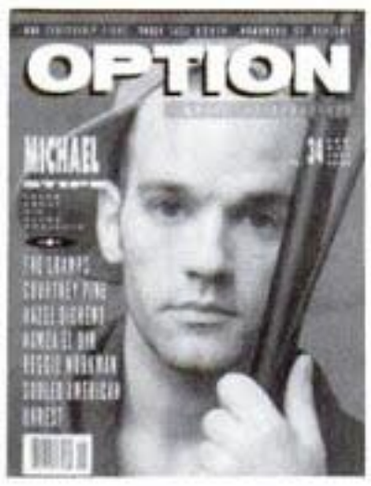
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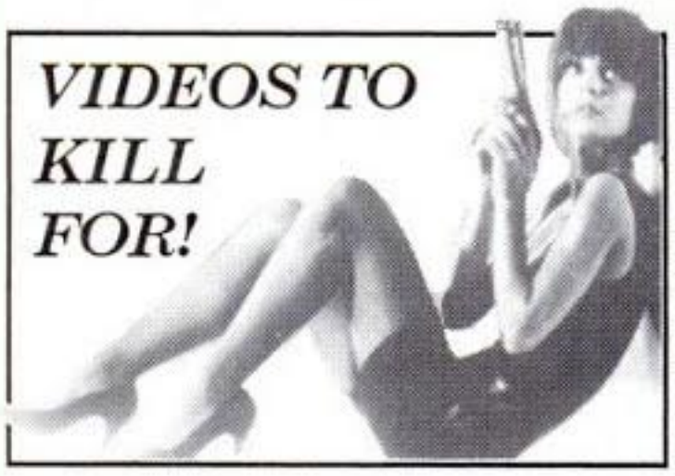
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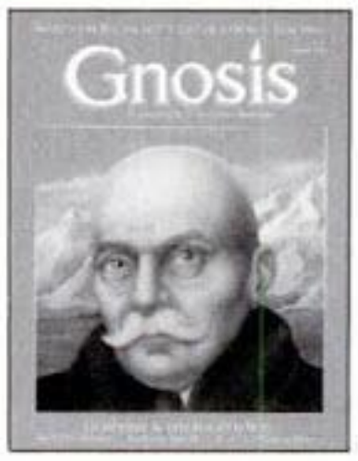
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Taut Police

R.E.M. and Dizzy Really Stretch Out; Tom Wolfe Gets Plastered; a Strange Special at Le Cirque

by Humphrey Greddon

"The upshot is rhyme without reason in embarrassingly expensive bunches of clunky stuff." *Village Voice* art critic Peter Schjeldahl recently concluded a review with this statement, and I am so taken with its grace, its music, its lack of clunk, that I am adopting it as a sort of aesthetic credo. From now on I will search for clunkiness everywhere. Of course, I will have to vary the formulation according to circumstances—if I were writing about, say, the poorly paid critics at *The Village Voice*, the upshot would be rhyme without reason in embarrassingly *in*expensive bunches of clunky stuff. Take, for example, *Village Voice* art critic Peter Schjeldahl, who wrote the following the same week he wrote the sentence above: "Vija Celmins gets to be the hero of this column...because for nearly three decades she has maintained a taut dialectic of pictureness and thingness in small paintings that seem ever less merely special and more germinal." *A bunch of clunky stuff* would, I think, be the mot juste.

In the case of Schjeldahl's colleague Edward Ball, who writes on architecture, the emphasis might be on *embarrassing*, for Ball seems to have quit school after his sophomore seminar on Marx and Lenin. He apparently believes, for example, that World War II was a bit of American capitalist imperialism—discussing a re-creation of the Museum of Modern Art's 1932 International Style exhibition, Ball wrote that "after World War II, American capital controlled vast markets opened by the U.S. victory...." This by itself may be minor, an almost tolerable *Voice*-crit tic, but then Ball mused about Mies van der Rohe's Seagram Building: "Think of the curtain wall, then of Mies's slogan, *bienahe nichts* (or 'almost nothing'). Does the German émigré's haiku not also describe the immaterial substance of international capital, with its satellite banking transfers, paper holding companies...?" Very interesting, very Marxian, except that the Seagram Building went up in 1958, a tad early for satellite banking transfers. With Schjeldahlian finesse, Ball also wrote that "when Tom Wolfe published *From Bauhaus to Our House* (1981), a pseudopopulist screed against 20th century architecture written as though with a cornice dipped in bile, it was one nail in the coffin too many." Writing with a cornice would be awfully cumbersome—clunky, even.

Upshot, *rhyme without reason*, *screed*, *dipped in bile* and *nail in the coffin* may appear to be awkward clichés, but only if you don't under-

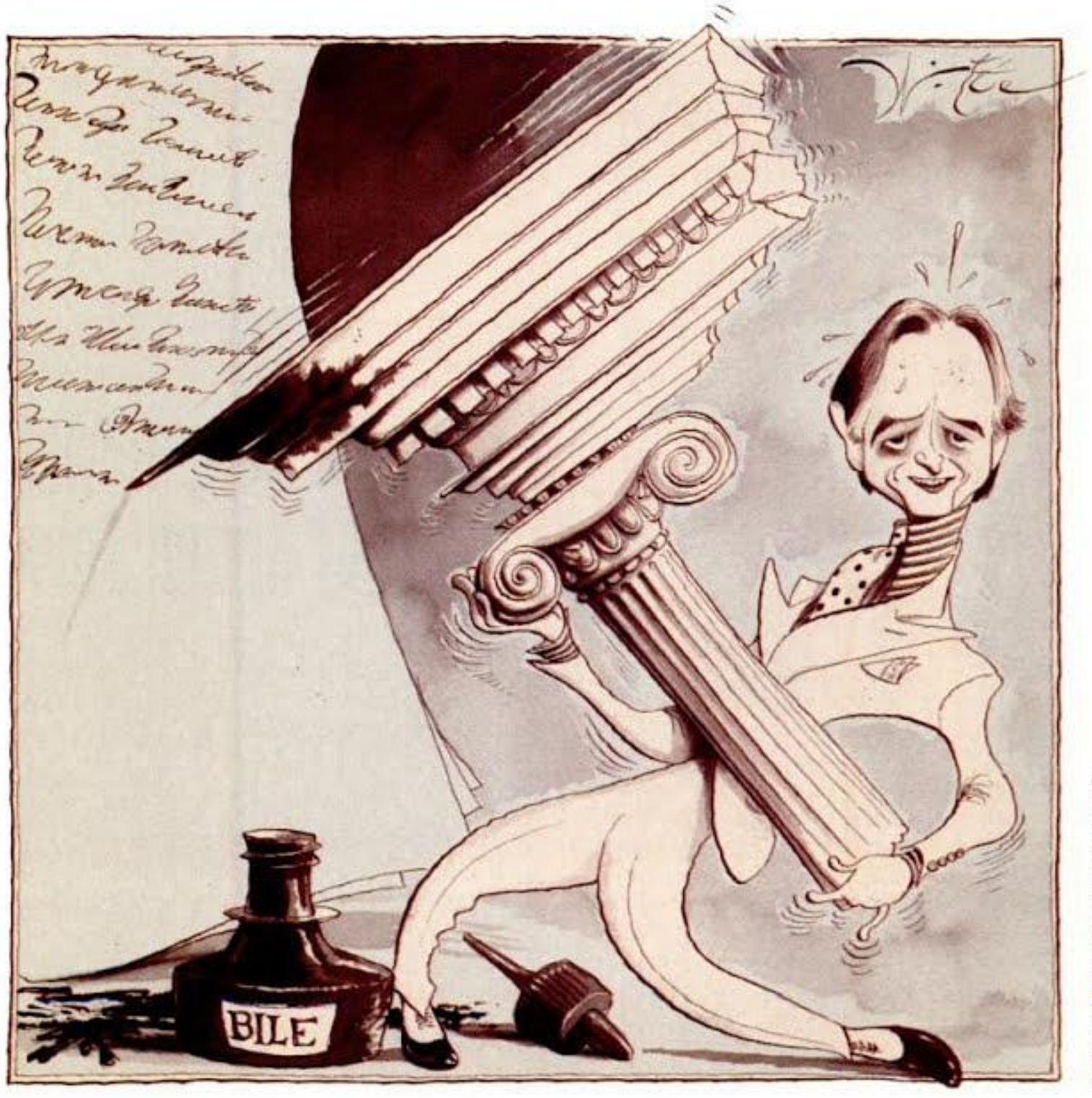


Illustration by Michael Witte

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stand the purposeful use of clichés. Writing in *Art in America* about poet John Ashbery's art criticism, Carter Ratcliffe praised Ashbery's dependence on what Ratcliffe variously calls "the most heavily trodden paths of prose style," "echoes," "language [that] grows more threadbare," "ready-made locutions," "well-used linguistic fragments" and "a phrase as smooth and shiny as the bronze, much-kissed foot of a saint." Let us say this for Ratcliffe—"a phrase as smooth and shiny as the bronze, much-kissed foot of a saint" is not a cliché.

Hold on—I neglected to mention another well-used linguistic fragment: *taut*, as in Schjeldahl's "taut dialectic." Or as in "taut physicality," the phrase Roberta Smith of *The New York Times* used while also discussing the works of Vija Celmins, who seems to need a good massage. Here are just a few examples of the use of *taut* in recent reviews, all taken from *The New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times*: "[Dizzy Gillespie's] improvisations...stayed knotty and taut, darting in every unexpected direction" (Peter Watrous, the *Times*). "These questions, sadly, are not confronted in [David] Wise's otherwise taut and muscular book [*Molehunt*]" (Tom Mangold, *L.A. Times*). "[Conducting Janacek's *Sinfonietta*, Sylvain Cambreling] obviously wanted to keep the expressive devices fluid, the folksy indulgences taut"; "The opening 'apologue' [of Corigliano's Symphony No. 1] rages in taut post-Wagnerian thunder" (Martin Bernheimer, *L.A. Times*). "'Under Suspicion' [is] a taut and entertaining mystery melodrama" (Vincent Canby, the *Times*). "'Agrippina' was Handel's first operatic success, written to a taut and witty libretto" (Edward Rothstein, the *Times*). "Jerome Robbins's unorthodox treatment of Philip Glass's music in 'Glass Pieces' is...performed outstandingly...with an unexpected mix of taut muscularity and ecstasy"; "[Michael] Moses, taut and daring, is that hero" (Anna Kisselgoff, the *Times*). "As Carey Perloff's taut production [of Strindberg's *Creditors*] at the CSC Theater reminds one, the play is a tragi-comedy" (Mel Gussow, the *Times*). "[Carl] St. Clair led a solid, respectable account [of Brahms's Symphony No. 1] with emphasis on broad perspective and taut muscularity" (Chris Pasles, *L.A. Times*). "[Etta] James repeatedly strung together two and three consecutive slow blues or soul ballads, maintaining the taut tension on which this music thrives" (John D'Agostino, *L.A. Times*). "[Helmut Rilling] has already recorded the B-minor Mass twice, and his probing account Saturday proved taut and joyous" (John Henken, *L.A. Times*). "[Grigory Medvedev's *The Truth About Chernobyl*] begins slowly...but soon becomes a taut drama" (the editors of the *Times* Book Review). "[R.E.M.'s *Out of Time*] is dominated by taut meditations in a chamber-rustic setting—contemplations on faith and love in a confusing world" (Richard Cromelin, *L.A. Times*).

"Taut tension" makes perfect sense, I suppose, but what are "taut folksy indulgences"?

"Taut tension" makes perfect sense, I suppose, but what are "taut folksy indulgences"? Furthermore, what do muscles have to do with it all? Used so often and so arbitrarily, *taut* has become worse than meaningless, so I have a suggestion: Why not replace it with a fresh word that would convey the same idea? A word like, say, *unclunky*? "His probing account proved unclunky and joyous." "*Agrippina* was written to an unclunky and witty libretto." "Unclunky meditations in a chamber-rustic setting." In this way, the language constantly renews itself.

Reviewing Le Cirque, to which he gave four stars, Bryan Miller of the *Times* wrote that "sprinkling superlatives upon this celebrated institution soon becomes an exercise in tautology." I cannot object to this usage. But I am disturbed by another comment of Miller's: "Add to that a dedicated and well-seasoned staff...and the stage is set for a spectacular dining experience." Cannibalism at Le Cirque?

If you think the libretto to Handel's *Agrippina* was taut and witty, you should listen to Scarlatti's opera *David*. I still haven't recovered from reading the sidesplitting passages Andrew Porter quoted in *The New Yorker*. Porter wrote that David and Goliath

> exchange challenges in amusingly rhymed verses. Goliath cries, "Draconem, leonem en provocat mus," to which David replies:
>
> Non imbelli duello puelli
> fera ferae iam fata quaeremus,
> non inulti, sed ulti cademus
> nec timemus pericula belli.
>
> Goliath counters with:
>
> Saevo dente fremente leonem,
> qui non pavet et avet adire,
> fata subit, et cupit obire
> fumantemque videre Sionem.

"Fumantemque videre Sionem"! Stop! You're killing me!

Some readers may question the power of this column. Well, I will remind them that a couple of months ago I took notice of a *Times* article by Bernard Holland in which he mocked a musicologist by pretending to analyze "Tea for Two" according to her methods. Readers will further recall that I witheringly dispatched the article as a monument to clunky witlessness. It may only be a coincidence, but Holland's column also received special attention internally at the *Times*. He won an award for it.

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Delicious Prose

Those Who Can, Do; Those Who Can't, Teach; Those Who *Really* Can't, Eat Fudge

by Ann Hodgman

A semifriend once told me that the only reason she was a receptionist was that she didn't have a mentor yet. "Once I get one, my career will *really* take off!" she assured me.

Well, *I* have a mentor now, so everybody'd better stand back. My mentor's name is Doris. Her work has appeared in *Our Town* and the *New York Post*, and she teaches at an illustrious cooking school whose name I will refrain from giving. Recently a dozen students, including me, headed over to East 92nd Street and found Doris waiting to show us how to get our work past the food editors who are waiting so eagerly to reject it. "Personally, as an article, I don't think [writing about] food writing would work," Doris told me, but I decided to go ahead anyway. I enrolled.

Motley bunch of neurotics would be too cruel a way to describe my classmates, all of whom—it grieves me to say—were female. Among us were a chocolatier from Boston, a graphic designer from Texas who seemed to have figured out everything about the writing process except where you get the words before you design them, a trembling-voiced Sylvia Plath clone who had graduated from law school the day before, a superglamorous art dealer's wife who was moving out of the country the following day, and a sprinkling of the kind of people who seem to depend on weekend classes to keep themselves alive. Five of the women in the class described food as their passion, which made me a little bit afraid.

I think it's safe to say that the class had had little writing experience. "From paragraph to paragraph, how do you lead in?" was one of the first questions someone asked Doris. "How do you make your knowledge sound interesting to read? Can you make a living at it?" asked another.

Happily, Doris had as many tips as we had questions. "The beginning of the piece gives the picture, the middle tells the story, and the end rounds it off," she explained. "How I think of it in my mind is, there's the appetizer, the entrée and the dessert." *No giggling during interviews with subjects, and never address a male editor as "Miss" in your cover letter*, Doris continued helpfully. *Also, you can make a very lucrative living working for an ad agency.*

I began to think about other things at this point. I browsed through Doris's clips, including a piece she had written about Thanksgiving. "The air is crisp, bringing a blush to your cheeks, touching the leaves with jeweled colors as if from an artist's palette and reminding us all of the holiday season fast approaching....As for desserts, consider Zaro's at Grand Central Station for a last-minute variety of attractive, mouth-watering goodies."

I looked up when Doris suddenly produced a brick of fudge wrapped in aluminum foil and handed us each a piece. This fudge was our first assignment. We were to write a few paragraphs about it—"with a definite *hook*," Doris cautioned—for an imaginary magazine article. (Doris liked hooks and attached one to each of us. One woman mentioned that she was interested in Japanese cooking. Later, from out of nowhere, Doris told her, "You with the Japanese, you look for special flavors in your food.") "When you're done, we'll think of someplace where the article might belong," Doris said. "Possibly, first get them in with the hook. 'This fudge tastes delicious,' for instance."

But mutiny was beginning to bubble up here and there. "I don't even know if I can write," fretted a midthirties woman I'll call Marcia. "I don't even know if I can do this assignment."

"There's no such word as *can't*," Doris pointed out.

"Because to me, I'm in New York to have fun, and I don't want to do that," Marcia went on, unheeding. "The biggest thing is, I don't know if I can *write*."

Doris tried to be helpful. "Can you write a letter? How about a letter about how much you'd rather do another assignment? What's your favorite fruit?"

"Raspberries."

"Okay, write about that!"

"Yes, but chocolate and raspberries are different," Marcia protested.

"Well, there's your first line! 'Chocolate and raspberries are different'!"

"Then how do I write *that?*" wailed Marcia. "It's not the first thing that came into my head!" We

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all nodded sagely. Naturally, she wouldn't be able to use it, then.

Now Sylvia Plath waded into the discussion. "Step back and see yourself as two people," she told Marcia earnestly. "What was your reaction when you saw the fudge?"

"Are we talking about the fudge?" asked another student in a baffled voice.

I don't know.

. . .

I decided to write a pretend lead for an article containing fudge recipes, doing my best to replicate the pornographic tone of most chocolate writing. "A perfect piece of fudge is velvety and sugary at the same time," I read aloud to the class. "It doesn't melt in your mouth, and you don't want it to. You want it to resist your bite ever so slightly: to remain faintly chewy, like the ghost of a caramel, before it finally gives way to luxurious creaminess. That's why I hate nuts in my fudge: They get in the way of that elusive textural perfection."

Doris paused after I had finished. "This would be a marketing thing, for a company," she said thoughtfully. "You could approach a fudge company and see about writing for them. Find out what you can—if it's an old company, do they have some nostalgia you could write about? Make sure you taste their fudge first, though!"

To the chocolatier, who mentioned that even old men with no teeth buy fudge, Doris suggested titling her piece "Old Men With No Teeth Buy Fudge." To a woman who had written a piece about resisting the fudge (we all clapped at the end), Doris suggested trying *Psychology Today*. Although *Psychology Today* had been out of business for more than a year, something about the word *psychology* seemed to unleash a torrent of, well, *psychology* throughout the class. (Predictably, the simple act of reading their attempts aloud sent almost as many students into a panic as had the scary act of writing.)

Halfway through her piece, one student broke off and glared at the classmates sitting across the table from her.

"You all took so *long* to eat your fudge!" she accused them. "I ate my piece right away, and none of you even touched yours! I couldn't understand it! I was having the DTs watching you!"

"I wanted to be alone with my fudge," someone explained defensively.

"I wanted to be alone with mine, too."

"I was sitting there thinking about it."

The class had made me realize that food writing may have depths I hadn't acknowledged before. Meanwhile, Doris had worries of her own: "*I* was thinking, *Oh, no, everyone hates my fudge!*"

When we had exhausted our fudge concerns—and it took a lot longer than you'd think—we moved on to more general matters.

"I was always the kid who everybody ignored, but when I talk about food, everybody listens," said Sylvia Plath, speaking about 200 words a minute. "I don't really have an assertiveness problem when it's about food. I was in a deli looking at the ice creams, and a man came up to me and said, 'What do you like?' and I said, 'Well, the Ben & Jerry's has a lot of fun flavors, but it's kind of gummy. I'd go for the Häagen-Dazs.' And he did!"

"I like what you said better than what you wrote," commented another student admiringly.

"You blossom when you talk about food," Doris agreed. "You are in tune with every woman here: *Food makes them come alive.*"

Motley bunch of neurotics would be too cruel a way to describe my classmates

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SPY Music Awards Update

Because of an overwhelming response, the results of the SPY Music Awards will be published in the September issue rather than this issue, as previously announced. We thank all those who have participated.

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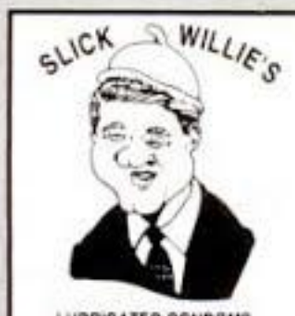
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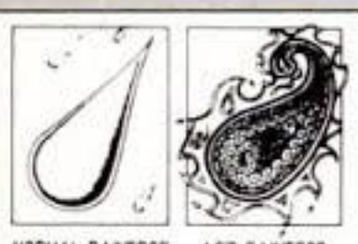
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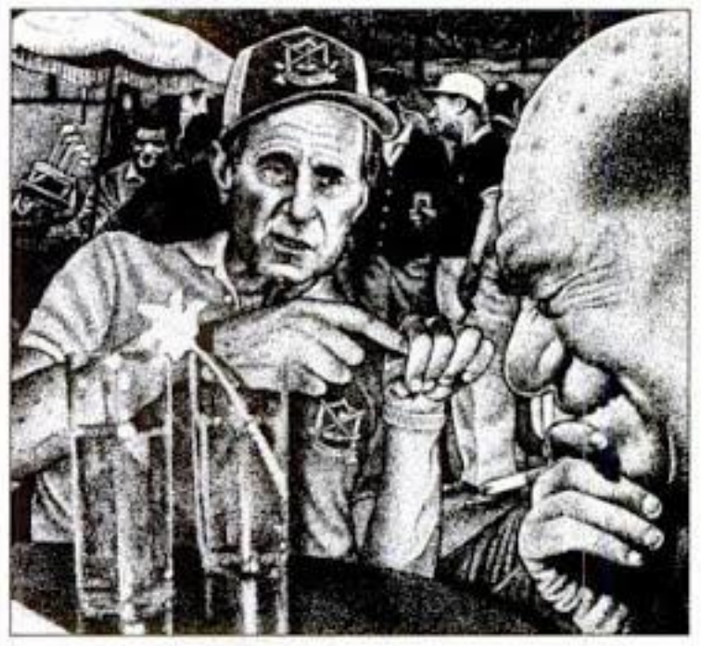


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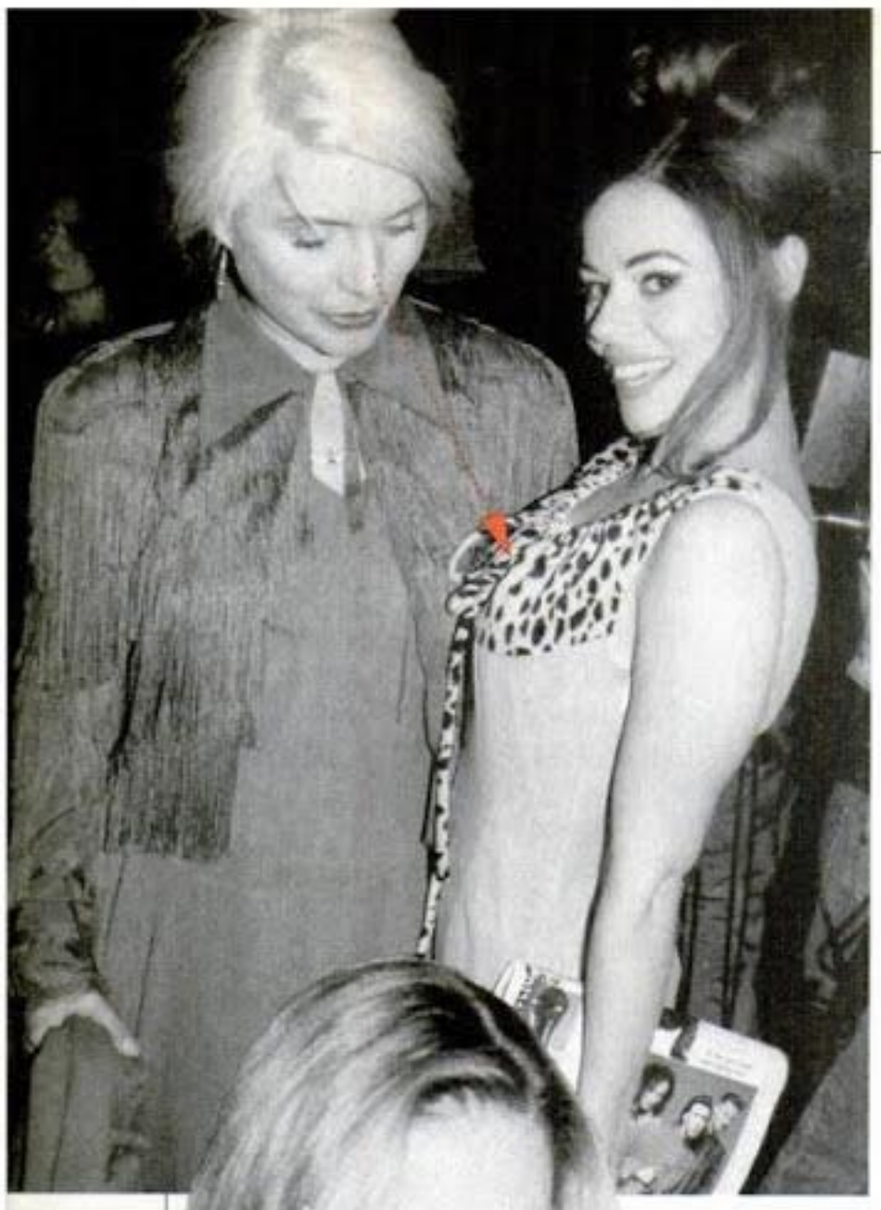
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Party Poop



I ONLY HAVE EYES FOR... At yet another music-awards ceremony, 1979's It Girl, Debbie Harry, sizes up her 1992 equivalent, Lady Miss Kier. Meanwhile, at the theater, va-va-va-voomish narcissist and former JFK Jr. plaything Sarah Jessica Parker examines her infrastructure.





SHE DOESN'T SOCIALIZE OFTEN Elaine May (or at least part of her eyelashes) comes unglued at the Waldorf-Astoria tribute to her and her similarly false-hair-wearing former partner, Mike Nichols.



TAKING PRECAUTIONS Bill Clinton never speaks in a space that is not equipped with a visible fire extinguisher and a perfectly proportioned miniature person hovering nearby to operate it.



USUALLY IT'S THE BODYGUARD WHO'S SCARY AND THUGLIKE Mickey Rourke and a hired friend crash a party.

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